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CHAPTERS ON THE BOOK OF MULLING

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FOR

DAVID DOUGLAS

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11. Et nesci p[re]dicto[n]e utinam q[uod] si
12. d[omi]num regnabat falsamente
13. moniti ad usum illius eti monachorum
14. d[omi]num in iustitia eius de j[ur]e emulsi
15. f[ac]tis p[re]dictis quae q[uod] ueritatem non possunt
16. habere non falso profectu[m] id est h[ab]et
17. audiunt h[ab]ent h[ab]ent h[ab]ent h[ab]ent
18. differunt compl[et]e h[ab]ent h[ab]ent h[ab]ent
19. um edificare illud p[ro]p[ter]e
20. p[ro]p[ter]e p[re]dicto[n]em ac illi nihil cccxv
21. respondit ad eum q[uod] ista est falsa
22. et ad iustitiam illius h[ab]et uocatum ne
23. pondere p[ro]p[ter]e p[re]dicto[n]em p[re]dicto[n]em
24. illi ad iustitiam p[ro]p[ter]e p[re]dicto[n]em
25. Cor nobis scimus xpc filius d[omi]ni cccxvi
26. sed illius tu d[omi]ni filius d[omi]ni
27. nobis amodo indebetis filius ho
28. minus p[ro]p[ter]e a. d[omi]ni p[ro]p[ter]e
29. tuorum iustitiae in nobis celi
30. t[er]cij p[ro]p[ter]e p[re]dicto[n]em p[ro]p[ter]e iustitiae
31. misteria p[re]dicta blasphemata d[omi]ni
32. ad h[ab]ent h[ab]ent h[ab]ent h[ab]ent
33. blasphemata q[uod] nobis uidet
34. At illi nesciunt omnes id est h[ab]ent
35. moniti te exponit p[re]dicto[n]e
36. lapidem et ceterum alii palmy
37. p[re]dicto[n]e a deo dicitur p[re]dicto[n]e
38. et nanob[us] xpc q[uod] s[ecundu]m p[re]dicto[n]em
39. p[ro]p[ter]e p[ro]p[ter]e p[ro]p[ter]e p[ro]p[ter]e p[ro]p[ter]e
40. uocavit ad eum una ex cancellaria
41. de illi, tunc inter gallico caput
42. ille nesciunt coram omnibus deo
43. nos h[ab]emus q[uod] dicitur neq[ue] ita illi
44. h[ab]emus h[ab]emus illi a iustitia et ab
45. aliis illa iustitia illi q[uod] dicitur

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CHAPTERS
ON THE

BOOK OF MULLING

BY

H. J. LAWLOR, B.D.

SENIOR CHAPLAIN OF ST MARY'S CATHEDRAL, EDINBURGH, AND
EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE BISHOP OF EDINBURGH

EDINBURGH: DAVID DOUGLAS

1897

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THE BOOK OF MULLING.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

M. BERGER, in his account of the early Irish Biblical Texts,¹ gives special prominence to two manuscripts which he describes as among the most important of the national manuscripts of Ireland. The first of these is the celebrated Book of Armagh, the other is that which is the subject of this essay, the Book of Mulling. The principal contents of this book are the four Gospels in Latin, but it has also the prefaces of Jerome, the table of the Eusebian Canons, an Office for the Visitation of the Sick, and other matter of which some account will be given in succeeding chapters. The book can scarcely be dated later than the third quarter of the ninth century, for an incidental notice in the *Annals of the Four Masters*² of the monastery in which it was beyond doubt written, proves that shortly after that time it had become a Danish settlement. Palæographers, judging from the character of the script, assign it to that, or the previous century.

Notwithstanding the interest and importance of our manuscript it has received but little attention from students of the ancient lore of Ireland. To Archbishop Ussher it appears to have been unknown. There is no reference to it, so far as I can discover, in the many volumes of his works.

The first author in whose writings I have found a notice of the book is the well-known Irish antiquary General Vallancey. For him, however, that which was of main interest was not the book, which he seems to have examined in the most cursory fashion, but its ancient case or cumdach, of which, under the name of the Liath

¹ *L'Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du Moyen Age*, par Samuel Berger, Paris, 1893, p. 31.

² A.D. 888. "A battle was gained by Riagan, son of Dunghal, over the foreigners of . . . Tech-moling."

Meisicith, he gives a lengthy description.¹ All that is really known of this shrine is that it was in existence—possibly even then a venerable relic—in the year 1402.² Vallancey ascribed to it a much greater antiquity, and was persuaded that it had come down from the ancient Druids. Of its contents he briefly and not very correctly writes :—

" It contains a number of loose sheets of vellum, on which are written extracts of the gospel and prayers for the sick, in the Latin language, and in the Irish character. There are also some drawings in water colours of the apostles, not ill executed ; these are supposed to be the work of Saint Moling, the patron of that part of the country."³

When Vallancey wrote (1783⁴), the Book of Mulling was still, as it had been for many centuries, in the charge of the family of Kavanagh, and was seen by him at their family seat at Borris Idrone, only a few miles from the site of the monastery founded by St Molling of Ferns, known as Tech Moling, or in its anglicised form, St Mullins. But a few years later it was deposited, with its cumdach, and the Charter Horn of the Kavanaghs, in Trinity College, Dublin. It thus became more accessible to scholars.

Among those who subsequently inspected it in its new resting place was the indefatigable entomologist and student of ancient manuscripts, Mr J. O. Westwood, to whom Trinity College owes so much for making generally known many of the priceless literary treasures which it possesses. Westwood's *Palaeographia Sacra Pictoria* appeared between 1843 and 1845, and in it⁵ a description (unfortunately not very accurate) of the Book of Mulling,⁶ together with facsimiles of a few lines of its writing.

Some years later our manuscript was incidentally mentioned by Professor O'Curry in his *Manuscript Materials*, and the Appendix to that work was enriched with two facsimiles of its script, one being taken from Jerome's Preface to St John's Gospel, the other from Matt. vi. 9 *sqq.* (the Lord's Prayer), accompanied by a brief description.⁷

But about this time the attention of liturgical students was drawn

¹ Vallancey, *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, Dublin, 1786, vol. iv. no. xiii. pp. 13–21.

² See Professor Abbott's "Note on the Book of Mulling" in *Hermathena*, viii. 89.

³ The Rev. J. F. M. ffrench, in his article entitled "St Mullins, Co. Carlow," in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 5th series, part iv. vol. ii. p. 379, repeats almost verbatim this description of Vallancey.

⁴ This is the date appended to the dedication of his thirteenth number, which is inscribed to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

⁵ "Irish Biblical MSS.," Plate II. (Letterpress, p. 4 *sq.*). Some account of the book is given also in his later work, *Facsimiles of the Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts*, London, 1868, p. 93.

⁶ Westwood's descriptions are the basis of that given by Miss M. Stokes in *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, p. 24 *sq.*

⁷ O'Curry's *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, Dublin, 1861, pp. 23, 335 *sq.*, App., pl. 5, p. 653.

to the Office for the Visitation of the Sick which is found at the close of St Matthew's Gospel. The late Dr William Reeves, Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore, whose loss Irish antiquarians still mourn, supplied a transcript of this Office to Bishop A. P. Forbes of Brechin, by whom it was printed in the preface to his edition of the Arbuthnott Missal.¹ The Visitation Office was again printed by Mr F. E. Warren in 1881.²

After an interval of five years from the publication of the Arbuthnott Missal (in 1869) two works appeared almost simultaneously, in which attention was called to the character of the Biblical text contained in our manuscript. The first in order of time was the first volume of Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils*.³ In an appendix to this work the attempt was made to prove the existence of a distinct Irish recension of the Latin Scriptures, and to trace the general history of the text of the Bible in that country in the centuries following the introduction of Christianity. Among other codices collated for this purpose was the Book of Mulling; and once more the hand of Dr Reeves was engaged in the task. Later in the same year Dr John Stuart edited for the Spalding Club the remarkable relic of the early Scottish Church which had been discovered in the Cambridge University Library, twelve years before, by Mr Henry Bradshaw.⁴ At the end of his preface,⁵ Dr Stuart printed, in parallel columns, collations of the fourth chapter of the Gospel according to St John as given in the principal Irish codices—and one of the columns is assigned to our book.

In the Introduction to the first part of Gilbert's great collection of *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland*, published in 1874, our manuscript is once more described,⁶ unfortunately in the most meagre fashion. But what specially distinguishes this notice of the book is the fact that three complete pages are given in facsimile, together with one of the drawings of the evangelists alluded to by Vallancey and Westwood. The reproduced pages are f. 42 r and v (Matt. xviii. 8—xix. 16), and f. 94 r (John xxi. 13–25 and colophon).⁷ On the opposite pages of Gilbert's work the text of these passages is printed line for line, contractions being expanded. It is strange that, with Westwood's *Palaeographia* before him, Gilbert has read only fourteen words of the colophon, and of these, at least two incorrectly.

Finally, in 1893, was published the epoch-making work of M.

¹ *Liber Ecclesie Beati Terrenani de Arbuthnott. Missale secundum usum Ecclesiae Sancti Andreæ in Scotia*, Burntisland, 1864, pp. x, sq., xx, sqq.

² *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, Oxford, 1881, p. 171 sqq.

³ *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. i., Oxford, 1869, Appendix G. (pp. 170–198).

⁴ G. W. Prothero, *Memoir of Henry Bradshaw*, London, 1888, p. 69.

⁵ *The Book of Deer*, edited for the Spalding Club, by John Stuart, LL.D., Edinburgh, 1869, p. xxxiv, sqq.

⁶ *National MSS. of Ireland*, i. p. xiii.

⁷ *Ib.*, pl. xx., xxi.

Berger, to which reference was made at the beginning of this chapter. It gives a description of our manuscript, with some interesting observations on its text.¹

This is an enumeration as complete as I have been able to make it—though doubtless the learned reader will observe some omissions—of the principal notices of the Book of Mulling up to the present time.

The latest event in its history is the satisfactory settlement of a controversy which had been for some time pending between the representatives of its former owners and the authorities of Trinity College. The point in dispute was whether, when towards the close of the last century it was deposited in the College, it was placed there merely for safe keeping during the troublous times preceding the Union, or was conveyed to the University of Dublin as a gift by the then head of the family of Kavanagh. In accordance with the agreement finally reached, the manuscript has been definitely acknowledged to be the property of the College, while its ancient shrine has been restored to Walter Kavanagh, Esq., D.L., and now once more rests in Borris House.

It remains to pen a few words about the purpose and aim of the present essay. Let it be at once said that the design of the writer is not to give an exhaustive account of the book. He is quite conscious that many things have been left unsaid upon which students might desire to have information. He is conscious also that the subjects upon which, in the pages now offered to the public, he has touched have been but imperfectly treated. But his aim throughout has been rather to stimulate the interest of others far more competent than himself for such investigations, than to give a complete account of the manuscript. He has, therefore, contented himself with selecting one or two features of the book which had been scarcely noticed by previous writers, and discussing them as best he could. Much remains for other better equipped workers in the same field.

It is a pleasant task to enumerate here those to whose kind assistance I have been most beholden while conducting the researches, the results of which are now set forth. Professor Gwynn first introduced me to the study which has proved a constant source of pleasure. Abundant help and encouragement have been given by him, by his colleague, Professor Bernard, and by the Rev. Thomas Olden. It is scarcely likely that, without the help of these three friends, this book would have been undertaken. But not to these alone must gratitude be expressed. The Rev. J. M. Harden has spent much valuable time in examining, with care and accuracy, many of the manuscripts preserved in the libraries of Trinity College and the Royal Irish Academy, a change in my residence having made it impossible for me to consult them, except at rare intervals; and the

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 33, 380.

Rev. J. A. MacCulloch has performed the wearisome task of reading the proofs. To them it is due that the errors in these pages are much fewer than they would otherwise have been. Mr J. H. Cunningham, F.S.A. Scot., has also given me valuable help, which is acknowledged at p. 183. I take this opportunity of thanking the Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, for their kind assistance in defraying the cost of publication.

Chapters IV. and VI. have already appeared in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, and Chapters VII. and VIII. are founded on a communication to the same Society.

CHAPTER II.

THE COLOPHON.

THE colophon of the Book of Mulling is written on the concluding page of St John's Gospel (f. 94 r). It occupies the four last lines of the first column, and the first few lines of the second. Several attempts have been made to read it, and a portion has been reproduced in facsimile by Westwood in his *Palaeographia Sacra*. But as mistakes have crept into all the published transcripts which I have seen, I give it here in full, so far as I have been able to decipher the faded letters.

col. a. φINIT amen φINIT
 ó tv quicūq: Scripseris
 Ī scrutatus fueris Ī etiā
 uideris Ī uolumin dīm orá
 a

col. b. - - - - - p - - - -
 - - - - - [mi]ssericordiā suā
 - - - - s p cliuosū mondi in -
 - - dusq: altissimum :—
 [N]omen h̄ scriptoris mulling
 dicitur Finiunt quatuor euān
 gelia

This colophon is to form the text of our discourse in the present chapter. If the discourse does not always adhere very strictly to the limits suggested by the text, it does no more than many other discourses have done. My excuse must be that there are some things which I feel ought to be said about our book, and that I know of no place more fitting for saying them than the present.

§ 1. *The Form of the Book.*

“O tu quicumque scripseris uel scrutatus fueris uel etiam uideris hæc uolumina.” Such is the opening address of the colophon of Mulling. Incidentally, it presents us with a description of the book, meagre but worth noting, “hæc uolumina.” These two words have not, indeed, so far as I am aware, been hitherto so read. Mr Westwood printed them “h̄ (=hæc) uolumen,” others, more grammatically, but less correctly, “hoc volumen.” There can, I believe, be no doubt that “hæc uolumina” is correct, though the final letter easily escapes notice, being much faded and written below the line.

The author of the colophon then describes his book as consisting of several distinct fasciculi or volumina. That this is true of the Book of Mulling as we have it I now propose to show. It is not applicable, be it observed, to what is handed to the student who asks for our manuscript in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. This is a large quarto volume of paper leaves, in each of which is inserted, with all the skill which marks the work of the binders employed by the British Museum, a leaf of vellum. The volume is duly described on the back, "Book of Mulling," and its contents are arranged in the following order : (1) ff. 1–17, Gospel according to St Mark ; (2) ff. 18–28, Jerome's Epistle to Damasus, the Arguments of the Gospels, and the Eusebian Canons ; (3) ff. 29–50, Gospel according to St Matthew, and other matter ; (4) ff. 51–53, three portraits ; (5) ff. 54–81, Gospel according to St Luke ; (6) ff. 82–94, Gospel according to St John, colophon and other matter ; (7) ff. 95–98, fragments of St Matthew and St Mark ; (9) f. 99, blank. It may perhaps be a relief to learn that some of the folios here brought together do not belong to our book, and that for the rest the peculiar arrangement indicated above has no other source than the ingenuity of the binder.

In the year 1892 I undertook to make a collation of the Biblical text of the so-called "Book of Mulling," now included in this volume. I will describe the condition in which it was on the 18th of February 1893, the day on which my collation was completed. In doing so, I am obliged to depend on notes made without any intention of publication, and much less complete and satisfactory than they might have been had I known that I should have no opportunity in the future of revising them by comparison with the manuscript in the state in which it then was.¹

There lay, in February 1893, in the library of Trinity College, where it had rested for more than a century, an ancient cumdach, inscribed with the name of "Arthurus rex dominus lagenie," better known as Art MacMurrough Kavanagh († 1417), the opponent of Richard II.,² and containing, unstitched and unbound, five fasciculi of vellum leaves, six loose leaves, and one pair of conjugate leaves, the contents and arrangement of which will, I trust, be made clear by the accompanying diagrams and the following description. In the diagrams each leaf is indicated by a line, those which have been lost by dotted lines, and each is connected with its conjugate by a line. Where conjugates had been dismembered when I examined the manuscript, a

¹ I may note that my reconstruction does not seem to agree with that of M. Berger, who must have examined the manuscript some little time before it fell to my lot to do so. He notes (*L'Histoire*, p. 380), "Cahiers de 12, 22, 17, 1, 28, 14 et 4 ff. ; 98 ff. Les 4 ff. de la fin contiennent un fragment de Matth. xxvi. et xxvii., et de Marc. i.–vi. ; ils sont étrangers au ms." He had already remarked (p. 34), "Les feuillets étant détachés, il a été quelque peu difficile de reconstituer les cahiers." If I understand his figures they must involve some error. The actual number of leaves now bound together is 99, not 98. If he includes lost leaves (as he seems to do in at least the first gathering), the total would be increased.

² See Professor Abbott in *Hermathena*, viii. p. 90.

row of dots is substituted for the connecting line. The figures in thick type indicate the numbers given to the folios by the British Museum binders; those in ordinary type, numbers which correspond more nearly with the intention of the scribes.

I. The first "volumen," or gathering, at present consists of five pairs of conjugate leaves and one single leaf. There are from twenty-three to twenty-six lines on each page, written all across the page, and about forty letters in each line.¹ It contains (1) f. 18 *r*, Jerome's Epistle to Damasus (the earlier part); (2) f. 19, the arguments of the several Gospels (the first portion of that of St Matthew being lost), ending in the middle of f. 21 *v* with the rubricated subscription, partly retraced in black, "finit [argum]en[tum euangeliorum]"; and (3) f. 22, the Eusebian Canons (part of the 10th Canon being lost). The hand appears to be the same as that in which the Gospels are written, if indeed we may assume that they were penned throughout by a single scribe. Vermilion appears in the headings to the arguments of the several Gospels ("de iohanne," etc.), in the subscription to that of St John, and in the Eusebian Canons. Large ornamental initials (uncoloured) are prefixed to the epistle and the several arguments. The leaves measure about 16·5 × 11·8 cent.

The original contents of this gathering may be inferred from the following considerations. The portion of the epistle ("Novum Opus") contained in f. 18 ends with the words "quod in," p. 3, l. 9, of Bishop Wordsworth's edition of the Vulgate, and is thus represented by 37 lines of that work. The lost portion of the epistle is therefore the equivalent of 24 of Bishop Wordsworth's lines. The earlier portion of the argument of St Matthew, also lost (all before "resurgens," Wordsworth, p. 16, l. 9), = 13 lines. The two together would therefore make 37 lines, or exactly the same amount as f. 18 of our MS. From this we may infer that one leaf intervened between the present ff. 18 and 19, and that it contained the remainder of the epistle and the opening part of the first argument. It is more difficult to determine the contents of the pages which have disappeared at the end. If neither the first nor second (lost) leaf was without conjugate, there must have been at least two of them, as represented in the diagram. On the recto of the first of these was the second half of Canon 10 (all after § 94), which may have filled about one-third of the page. The remainder of these two leaves would have sufficed for the "Prologus Quattuor Evangeliorum" (Wordsworth, p. 11, where it fills 64 lines = nearly 3½ pp. of our book). This fact in itself, in the absence of conflicting evidence, justifies the assumption that both f. 18 and the lost leaf following it had conjugates, as represented in the diagram. Fol. 18 has no marks of stitching, but its inner edge is much worn. Its present width is 11·35 cent. That this gathering was written by the same scribe as those that follow appears to be the opinion of all palaeographers who have examined the book. It is one which it seems safe to accept. The hand no doubt differs in some respects from that found in the Gospels, as may be seen from Professor O'Curry's facsimile (*Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Irish History*, Appendix, pl. 5). But it differs no more from the writing of any part of the Gospels than the writing of one of their pages frequently differs from another. Any one who will compare the exquisite script of the early chapters of St Matthew or St Luke with that of the last pages of St John, will

¹ This, of course, does not apply to the Canons.

be sufficiently impressed with this fact. Indeed, a glance at two consecutive pages will sometimes enable us to detect striking variations in the character of the hand. Thus the writing of f. 62 *r* (Luke vii. 4–27) is manifestly inferior to that of f. 61 *v* (Luke vi. 36—vii. 4), and in passing from the latter to the former we meet with several changes in the form of the letters, etc.—e.g., $\frac{5}{2}$ is used for \div (=est), 5 for ȝ (*g*), *dix* for *dāx* (=dixit), etc., and the form of the letter *t* (that which is commonly used throughout the MS.) differs from that found in the immediately preceding pages. It will be evident to the student who compares them together, that the writing of this leaf closely resembles that of the first fasciculus. The peculiarities now mentioned are gradually dropped on the verso of the leaf, and the normal type of writing reappears on f. 63.

II. The second gathering consisted, as the diagram shows, of eleven pairs of conjugate leaves. Two, originally conjugate, afterwards became dismembered (ff. 29, 50). This quire contained St Matthew's Gospel, ending in the middle of the second column of f. 49 *v*, with the subscription "finit amen finit." The remainder of this column and the following leaf were left blank. On the vacant portion of f. 49 *v*, and on f. 50 *r*, was subsequently written by another scribe¹ the Office for the Communion of the Sick,² f. 50 *v* still remaining blank. The writing is bi-columnar, and better executed than that of the preceding fasciculus. The number of lines in a column varies from 25 to 41, being greater towards the end of the Gospel. The average size of a page in this and the three succeeding gatherings is at present 16·4 × 11·9 cent. Elaborate initials, finely drawn and coloured, are found at the beginnings of the Gospels, and at St Matt. i. 18. They have the usual rows of red dots, double in St Matthew and St Mark, single (apparently) in St Luke and St John.

An examination of the Office for the Communion of the Sick (ff. 49 *v*, 50 *r*) appears to justify the statement just made that it is by a different hand from the Gospel. (1) The writing is neater here than anywhere else in the manuscript. (2) The use of large and carefully formed initial letters is much more frequent than usual. (3) Here—one might almost say here alone—the page is divided by lines ruled with a pointed instrument for the guidance of the scribe. Elsewhere, the points at which the lines of writing are intended to begin are occasionally marked, but these marks are but little attended to in practice. (4) Here alone the margins are ruled with two parallel lines, one to serve as a boundary for the ordinary writing, the other for the large initials which stand outside it. It seems improbable that a scribe would expend so much more care on a liturgical office, which is evidently only an addendum to his real work, than on the sacred text itself. (5) The form of several of the letters is peculiar to this part of the book. Such, for example, are *d*, *r*, *g*, and the diphthong *æ*, elsewhere represented commonly by *ȝ*, here by *ȝ*. And lastly (6) some of the *compendia scribendi* used by the writer of these pages are very rare in the manuscript, if they occur elsewhere at all. As instances, we may refer to *û* for *ut* or *usque*, the symbols for *per* (*p*), else-

¹ Westwood (*Pal. Sac.*, "Irish Biblical MSS.", ii. p. 4) says emphatically: "The original scribe had" written this Office (the italics are his). But emphasis does not necessarily imply accuracy. In the very next line he declares, with a like use of italics, that the ornamental initials at the beginnings of the Gospels are "not coloured." This is an extraordinary mis-statement. But, indeed, Mr Westwood's account of the Book of Mulling is very inexact throughout.

² Printed in Warren's *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, p. 171 *sqq.*, and Forbes' *Arbuthnott Missal*, p. x, *sqq.*

where *p̄*) and *pro* (*p* : elsewhere *p̄*), and the abbreviations *oīa* for *omnia*, and *sclā* for *sæcula*. The page is ruled for 33 lines of writing.

III. The third "volumen" contains St Mark's Gospel, and consists of at least six (ff. 8, 9 probably once formed a seventh) conjugate pairs of leaves, and three (or five) single leaves (ff. 4, 15, 16), two of which, it will be noticed, immediately precede the final leaf of the gathering—in all 17 leaves. The writing is again bi-columnar, and there are from 26 to 32 lines in a column. The subscription "finit" is written at f. 17va, l. 19, the remainder of the page being left blank.

IV. Here, for St Luke's Gospel, as the diagram again shows us, we have 13 conjugate pairs, and two single leaves (ff. 76, 79) inserted near the end of the quire—altogether 28 leaves. There are from 27 to 39 lines in a column. The Gospel ends on f. 81vb, with the subscription "finit amen finit," the part of the column following this being left blank.

V. St John's Gospel is written in a gathering of 13 leaves, the last of which (f. 94) had no conjugate. The remainder of the fasciculus consists of six pairs of leaves, five of which, and probably the sixth (ff. 83, 92), were conjugates. The inner edges of ff. 84, 91 are quite fresh, so that these leaves must have been recently parted from one another. The Gospel ends on f. 94 r a, and is immediately followed by the colophon. The greater part of the second column of this page is blank. The verso of the leaf is occupied with matter which will be considered at some length in subsequent chapters. The writing of this gathering is distinctly inferior to that of those which have been already described. It is bi-columnar, except in f. 93, both recto and verso of which have three columns.¹ Towards the end the writing becomes smaller, and the number of lines in a column much greater. The number of lines ranges from 26 on the recto of f. 82, to 50 on f. 93 r.

We have now come to the end of the matter which, as I believe, has a clearly established claim to have formed part of the Book of Mulling in its final shape. We have gone far enough also to see that the expression of the colophon is absolutely accurate—"hæc volumina." These "volumina" were never (till these later days) bound together: but that each was separately stitched was, if my memory does not deceive me,² vouched for by holes made for the purpose, in such of the sheets (making pairs of leaves) as time and rough usage had left in anything approaching their original condition. They may still be seen in at least three of the six inserted leaves (ff. 4, 16, 79, and perhaps 15, 76). Where these holes are found their distance from the outer edge of the leaf is about the width of an ordinary page. We may remark that the scribe was evidently most anxious to confine each Gospel to its own fasciculus, though he makes grievous

¹ This temporary lapse into tri-columnar writing finds a parallel in the Book of Armagh: Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, p. xc.

² Even now enough can be discerned to convince me that my recollection is not altogether at fault.

I.

18	1
2	
19	3
20	4
21	5
22	6
23	7
24	8
25	9
26	10
27	11
28	12
13	
14	

II.

29	15
30	16
31	17
32	18
33	19
34	20
35	21
36	22
37	23
38	24
39	25
40	26
41	27
42	28
43	29
44	30
45	31
46	32
47	33
48	34
49	35
50	36

III.

1	37
2	38
3	39
4	40
5	41
6	42
7	43
8	44
9	45
10	46
11	47
12	48
13	49
14	50
15	51
16	52
17	53

IV.

54	54
55	55
56	56
57	57
58	58
59	59
60	60
61	61
62	62
63	63
64	64
65	65
66	66
67	67
68	68
69	69
70	70
71	71
72	72
73	73
74	74
75	75
76	76
77	77
78	78
79	79
80	80
81	81

V.

82	82
83	83
84	84
85	85
86	86
87	87
88	88
89	89
90	90
91	91
92	92
93	93
94	94

VI.

51	(95)
52	(96)
53	(97)

VII.

99	(98)
----	------

VIII.

95	(99)
	(100)
96	(101)
97	(102)
	(103)
98	(104)

To face page 10.

miscalculations as to the space required. Thus in St Matthew, he begins in a fine bold hand with 26 lines to a page. As the work advances he seems to become afraid that the quire is too small for what he had designed that it should contain. He accordingly writes more closely, lengthens the lines, and increases the number of lines in each column to 35 or 40, finally ending the Gospel with more than a leaf in hand. In St Mark he miscalculates again, and is obliged to insert two leaves at the end. The same fate awaits him in St Luke. In St John, write as small and as closely as he will, the Gospel runs over its allotted space, and the last thirteen verses demand a special leaf for themselves.

This appears to be the best place to remark that the method of writing here exemplified, each Gospel having a separate gathering, seems not to have been uncommon in the early Celtic Churches. The same arrangement is found in the manuscript known as "St Patrick's Gospels" (*Royal Irish Academy*, 24. Q. 23).¹ The familiar portraits of the evangelists again, each holding a book (of which the drawings formerly preserved in the cumdach of the Book of Mulling are a specimen), indicate that the Gospels were usually regarded as consisting of *four* volumes, and not one. In later times the several Gospels were sometimes provided with separate shrines or cumdachs. Witness the pictures of the evangelists in the Book of Deer, depicted with books, *in cases*, suspended from their shoulders.² So again at Banchory-Ternan was preserved, in the early part of the sixteenth century, the Gospel according to St Matthew, written by St Ternan. Both it and the remaining Gospels, written by his hand, were said to have been enclosed in metal cases, adorned with gold and silver.³ And in like manner St Patrick is represented as bestowing, in one instance,⁴ the "*libri euangelii*"; in another, the "*likeness of the case of the Book of John*";⁵ upon churches founded by him, while he and St Brigid are spoken of as "sowing the *four books* of the Gospel with a sowing of faith, and belief, and piety."⁶ A further illustration will be found in the next chapter, where it is proved that the Gospels of our book are copied from at least three different exemplars. And indeed, several examples are known of single Gospels being copied apart.⁷

¹ J. H. Bernard, *Trans. R.I.A.*, xxx. 307 sq.

² Such at least seems to be the probable explanation. See Stuart, *Book of Deer*, p. xx.

³ Martyrology of Aberdeen (*Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, ii. p. 264): "Pridie Idus Junij.—In Scotia natalis sancti Terrenani Pictorum archipresulis apud ecclesiam de Banquorefterny sepultus. . . . Euangelistarum quoque *quatuor voluminibus* metallo inclusis argento auro texto in superficie fabricatis remuneraretur quorum Mathei euangeliste volumen adhuc apud Banquory."

⁴ Muirchu Maccu-Machtheni's notes in the *Book of Armagh*, f. 8 b. 2. Cf. Whitley Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, i. p. xcvi.

⁵ Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, i. p. 87.

⁶ Stokes, *Lives of Saints from Book of Lismore*, p. 193.

⁷ The Stonyhurst St John (Berger, *L'Histoire*, p. 39), the St Gall St John

We must now examine the remaining leaves formerly preserved in the cumdach of our book, and now bound up with it. To begin with the set numbered VIII. in our diagram. This contains St Matt. xxvi. 42—xxvii. 35 *mittentes* (f. 95); St Mark i. 1—iv. 8 *dabit* (f. 96, 97); and St Mark v. 18 *nauem*—vi. 35 *eius* (f. 98). These leaves appear to have formed part of a single manuscript, and, if so, they may have been two sheets of a quire as shown in the diagram. The writing is not columnar. The size of the leaves varies slightly, the length being from 15·4 to 15·9 cent., and the breadth from 12 to 12·3 cent.; ff. 95, 96, 98 have 36 lines in a page; f. 97 has 33. These fragments, of course, formed no part of our book.

It is scarcely worth while to discuss the blank leaf (f. 99), numbered here VII. It is smaller (15·2 x 11·8 cent.) than any of the four leaves just mentioned, and considerably smaller also than the leaves of the Book of Mulling. It is possibly an accidental intruder.

Of more importance is VI. (ff. 51, 52, 53), the three leaves on the rectos of which we find portraits, presumably of evangelists. They have been described by Mr Westwood in his *Palaeographia*; and by him, as well as by others, are regarded as having formed part of our book.¹ This has, perhaps, been too hastily assumed. Their connection with our book is not proved by the fact that they were kept in the same case with it; for the fragments of St Matthew and St Mark, which we have just examined, were enshrined in St Mulling's cumdach also. And this is not the only instance of a manuscript having found its way into a shrine that was not meant for it.² Nor is their claim established by the near coincidence in the size of these pictorial leaves with those which undoubtedly belong to our book, for they agree in measurement even more closely with the leaves of St Matthew and St Mark already referred to. They measure, in fact, about 16 x 12·2 cent. In other words, they fall short of the average height of the pages of Mulling's book by nearly half a centimetre, while they exceed the average breadth by more than a quarter of a centimetre. The difference in breadth may indeed have been less originally than it is now, but for similar reasons the difference in height was probably greater.

(*ib.*, 56), and apparently at least one other copy of the same Gospel, which was in the St Gall Library in the ninth century (Keller, *Bilder u. Schriftzüge*, p. 61), and (this, of course, is not a Celtic MS.) the Chartres St John (Berger, p. 89). Not, however, the Stowe St John (Bernard, *Trans. R.I.A.*, xxx. 314). A copy of St Matthew's Gospel, apart from the others, is mentioned in the story of the invention of St Barnabas, written in the sixth century. See *A.A.S.S.*, Jun. 11, ii. pp. 422, 450. Whatever may be thought of the historical character of the narrative, the reference seems to prove that the writer was aware that such a manuscript existed. M. Berger remarks (*ib.*, 69) that St John was the only Gospel so copied in the early Middle Ages. But the statement seems to need some modification.

¹ Westwood, *Pal. Soc.*, "Irish Manuscripts," pl. ii. p. 5. Of other writers who accept this view I shall mention only one, M. Berger (*op. cit.*, p. 380). His knowledge of the Book of Mulling stands in striking contrast to that of some others who have written about it. It has been derived at first hand from an inspection of the manuscript itself.

² J. H. Bernard, *Trans. R.I.A.*, xxx. 305 sq., 313.

On the other hand, they are in exact agreement as to size with one of the leaves of the fragment—f. 98. But what makes the supposition that they belonged to our book specially doubtful is this. They have evidently no conjugates among the genuine pages of our book. Now the inserted leaves, which have the appearance of having suffered little injury, are, as we might expect, wider than the ordinary leaves of the manuscript;¹ and, moreover, they have, at a little distance from the inner edge, the marks of the stitching by which they were attached to their respective Gospels. This is not true of the leaves now under consideration. It seems, then, that if these pictures really belonged to our book, they must have lain loose in the case in which it was kept, without any mark to indicate the Gospels to which they severally belonged. When we add that analogy points to the belief that the Book of Mulling had no metal box such as that in which it was in later centuries preserved, for a considerable time after it was written, the improbability of the supposition becomes manifest.² It seems, on the whole, likely that these three pictures (connected quite possibly with some unknown manuscript) were put for safe keeping into the cumdach of the Book of Mulling. They were put there, we may suppose, for no better reason than that, being nearly of the same size and shape as the inside of the box, they fitted it easily; just as, for the same reason no doubt, some other odd leaves of a Gospel book found their way into the same shrine, and as, owing to a similar agreement in size, the Stowe St John and the Stowe Missal were placed together in a single cumdach, and ultimately bound together in one volume.³

§ 2. *The Date.*

What data have we for determining the period at which our manuscript was written?

Many scholars have been content to answer that question by quoting the words of the colophon, “[N]omen hautem scriptoris mulling dicitur.” The Mulling here mentioned, it has been urged, can be no other than Molling, Bishop of Ferns, who died in the year 696.⁴ The book is therefore expressly stated to have been penned by him, and must be dated in the latter part of the seventh century.

Let me at once say that I believe there is much force in this

¹ The average width is about 12·2 cent., which is identical with that of the pictorial pages.

² All that is certain about the date of the cumdach of the Book of Mulling, as has been already remarked, is that it existed before A.D. 1402. Whether it was originally made as a shrine for our book we can never know, though its size and shape agree with this supposition (inside measurement, 18·2 × 13·3 cent.). The Book of Durrow (not later than the eighth century) was not enshrined till the end of the ninth; the Book of Armagh, written in 807, not until the following century. The shrine of the Cathach of St Columba, though the Psalter itself certainly belongs to a much earlier period, is dated 1084 (Miss M. Stokes' *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, p. 89 *sqq.*). That of the Stowe Missal may be contemporary with the later writing of the manuscript enclosed in it.

³ Bernard, *Trans. R.I.A.*, xxx. 313.

⁴ *Annals of Four Masters*, *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 696; *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, 692; *Trip.*, p. 519, A.D. 693.

argument. In the first place, Molling is a name of extreme rarity. The seventh century bishop is the only person mentioned by it, so far as I have been able to discover, in the Irish annals.¹ This is the more remarkable on account of his celebrity. He was reckoned as one of the four prophets of Ireland. Now it is very common to find the names of great saints adopted by others of lesser note. Columba, for example, is very frequently met with. That Molling occurs but once appears to be accounted for by the fact that it is not in the strict sense a "name" at all. The true name of the saint was Daircell, and he was called "Molling," the leaper, on account of his athletic prowess.² It is as much, therefore, a descriptive epithet as "Cœur de Lion" applied to Richard I. of England, or "le Chauve" applied to Charles II. of France. It is unlikely that it should be given to another. It may thus be regarded as highly probable that our "scriptor" was the famous Molling of Ferns.

And this probability becomes greater when we recall the history of the manuscript which bears the name. It was, until the end of the eighteenth century,³ in the custody of the family of Kavanagh, of which St Molling was a member, and whose family seat at Borris Idrone is within a few miles of Tech Moling or St Mullins, the site of the monastery over which he presided. This fact leaves little room for doubt that, by whomsoever penned, every part of our book was written in the monastery of St Molling at St Mullins.⁴

But a further confirmation is found in the fact that St Molling was actually famed as a scribe. Keating, writing in 1630,⁵ tells us that "when the Senchas had been purified, the Irish nobles decreed that it should be given into the charge of the prelates of the Irish Church. These prelates gave orders to have it copied out in their principal churches. Some of the old books so written, or rescripts of them, survive to the present day, such as the Book of Armagh, the Psalter of Cashel, the Book of Glendaloch, the Book of Ua Congbala, the Book of Clonmacnois, the Book of Fintann of Cluain Aidnech, the Yellow Book of Moling, and the Black Book of Molaga."

The "Yellow Book of Moling" to which he refers, appears, indeed, to have contained a collection of historical documents, and he does not mention a copy of the Gospels as transcribed by him. But it is almost incredible that an eminent Irish scribe of the seventh century should not have written at least one Gospel book, or that Gospels written by the hand of a saint of great renown would not be among the treasures of his own monastery.

¹ An earlier Molling, however, is mentioned in the Book of Leinster, Molling Luath (the swift), son of Fiacha, as distinguished from our Molling Luachra (of Luachair), son of Faelan, *Revue Celtique*, xiii. pp. 45, 101.

² *Dict. of National Biog.*, xiii. p. 380.

³ Vallancey's words, quoted above, p. 2, are sufficient to prove that the contents of the cumdach were the same in 1783 as in 1893.

⁴ Mr Warren appears to overlook the importance of this consideration when he writes in the *Academy*, Jan. 26th, 1893, p. 83: "But who is the 'Mulling Scriptor' of this volume? and where was his *civitas*? The proposal to identify him with St Mulling of Ferns (who died 697) . . . must now be finally abandoned."

⁵ *History of Ireland*, O'Mahony's translation, p. 412.

It seems, therefore, almost beyond question, that the assertion of the colophon is that the book to which it belonged was written by Daircell or Molling, the celebrated bishop and scribe of the seventh century.

On the other hand, the almost unanimous testimony of palæographers ascribes our manuscript to a later period. M. Berger,¹ than whom no one is more competent to give judgment, refers it to the ninth, and apparently not to the beginning of the ninth century. Others assign to it a slightly earlier date;² but all agree in placing it at least a century after the time of St Molling.

It may, of course, be urged that one of the most difficult problems of palæography is the determination of the dates of Irish manuscripts.³ Irish scribes appear to have been strongly conservative, and to have closely imitated older forms of writing and ornament. But, though this fact may move us to push back the date of the manuscript by a few decades, we can hardly place it within the lifetime of Molling if we are to be guided by palæography at all.

The evidence, therefore, of palæography and that of the colophon appear at first sight to be directly opposed. Is it possible to reconcile them? Or is the problem of our manuscript insoluble? What appears to me to be its true solution is suggested by a paper contributed by Professor T. K. Abbott to *Hermathena* on the colophon of the Book of Durrow.⁴ The colophon of this copy of the Gospels states that it was written by one Columba, who has been identified with the Apostle of the Picts († 597).⁵ Palæography, on the contrary, pleads for the seventh century.⁶ Here is Dr Abbott's way of reconciling the two. The colophon, he says, was copied from the archetype. It contains, therefore, the name of the scribe of the archetype, not of the scribe of the manuscript at the end of which it is now found. The archetype, to which it was originally appended, was therefore written, as the colophon states, in the space of twelve days [and therefore probably "in smaller and more cursive characters" than the Book of Durrow] by a scribe named Columba, who may very well have been the founder of Hy.

It is unnecessary to recapitulate here the arguments by which Professor Abbott seeks to establish this conclusion. To prevent misconception, however, it may be well to say how far, as it appears to me, the inference from them is justified.

The state of the case seems to be this. Reasons of some weight have been given for believing that St Columba could not have written a codex with errors so numerous and of such a kind as are

¹ *L'Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 34.

² Scrivener's *Introduction*, 4th ed., ii. p. 78.

³ Thompson, *Greek and Latin Paleography*, p. 236 *sqq.*

⁴ Vol. viii. p. 199 *sqq.*

⁵ The colophon is given in full in the paper referred to in the text, and also in Professor Abbott's *Evang. Versio*, p. xix.

⁶ Berger, *op cit.*, p. 41. In Scrivener's *Introduction*, 4th ed., ii. 78, it is still described "[end of vi]"; but in an earlier work (*Old Latin Biblical Texts*, iii. p. viii) Mr White had dated it "seventh or eighth century."

found in the Book of Durrow. It has been proved, moreover, that the copy to which the colophon refers must have been written in less elaborate style and in a more cursive character, and that the writer of that copy was named Columba. And finally, arguments falling little short of demonstration have been adduced to show that the colophon was transcribed from another document, which we may reasonably assume to have been that which served as the model for the Gospel text. All this is matter of practical certainty.

But what about the further and most interesting question, Was St Columba the scribe of the archetype to which the colophon belonged? As Dr Abbott truly remarks, there is nothing against this supposition in the fact that the text of the Book of Durrow is Vulgate. St Columba, as he says, may have habitually used an old Latin version, and yet have come across a copy of Jerome's translation and transcribed it for the purposes of private study.¹ We may, in fact, go further, and assert that there is absolutely no direct evidence as to what the version may have been from which St Columba habitually made his quotations. For all that can be proved it may have been just such a text as we find in the Durrow Gospels.

But Professor Abbott really gives us no evidence in favour of the archetype having been penned by St Columba, except the words, "Columbae scriptoris qui hoc scripsi himet (?) euangelium." And he warns us that Columba is a very common name. Thus, as he leaves it, the thesis is "not proven."

Now there is one piece of evidence which he has not mentioned, and which may be thought to tell against the supposition that the Book of Durrow was copied from an autograph of the great saint. It is the wording of the colophon itself: "Rogo beatitudinem tuam sancte praesbiter patrici." Here is a direct invocation of a departed saint. Is it possible that St Columba should have made use of it? It does not seem probable. Less than a century after his death, indeed, such a colophon would not have been surprising. It may be illustrated by several parallels from Adamnan.² But if we may judge from the evidence before us, the practice of invoking the departed did not come into vogue till after St Columba had passed away.

Our conclusion then is that the Book of Durrow, including its colophon, is a copy from an earlier codex written by one Columba,³ whose date cannot with probability be placed earlier than the opening years of the seventh century.

Now, it will be seen that the Book of Mulling presents a problem very similar to that which arises in the case of the Book of Durrow. Palæography and the colophon are much more certainly at variance

¹ This supposition is confirmed by the very interesting remarks on St Finnian of Movilla and the introduction of the Latin Bible into Ireland, which will be found in Miss M. Stokes' *Six Months in the Apennines*, London, 1892, p. 25 sqq.

² Dowden's *The Celtic Church in Scotland*, pp. 225, 233.

³ If so, Bishop Reeves' assertion (*Life of St Columba*, p. xiv), "that the colophon in Irish manuscripts is always peculiar to the actual scribe, and likely to be omitted in transcription," is scarcely justified by the facts.

here than in the Durrow Gospels. May not a similar solution be found? True, in our book the colophon bears no mark, on the face of it, that it is not original. But analogy has made it possible that it may have been transcribed from an earlier exemplar. The possibility is converted by palaeographical considerations into a strong probability. And if it be once conceded that this is a fact, few will be found to question the identity of Mulling. Our manuscript, in short, will be admitted to have been transcribed, or at least ultimately derived, from an autograph of St Molling of Ferns. St Molling, we may suppose, wrote a copy of the Gospels; a century or more after his death an anonymous scribe made a transcript of this book, including the colophon; and this transcript is the "Book of Mulling" which has survived to the present day.

To this hypothesis I can think of only one objection. It scarcely indeed deserves to be so described, but I must not altogether pass it over. The colophon, as we have already seen, speaks of Mulling's book as consisting of several "volumina." This description applies accurately to the five fasciculi of the present book. If our theory is correct the later scribe must have, in this matter, imitated the *form* of his exemplar as well as copied its text. This in itself presents no difficulty. For we shall find that in the much less striking feature of the division into sections he has strictly adhered to the model of his archetype. But what is here in point is the further fact that he has had some difficulty in confining each Gospel to a single "volumen," and has miscalculated in every case the number of leaves required. What could be easier, it may be urged, if he had before him a manuscript arranged in this particular way, than to estimate beforehand how many sheets of vellum he should assign to each gathering? The answer is, first, that we have no measure of the stupidity, or of the incapacity for arithmetical calculation, of Irish scribes; and, secondly, that the requisite calculation was not very much more difficult if his exemplar was constructed on a different principle. A difference in the size of the pages might, perhaps, confuse him in one case; it may equally have done so in the other. His very determination, notwithstanding all mistakes, to adhere to his design may possibly rather indicate that the arrangement was commended to him, not merely by his own sense of fitness, but by some authority whom he desired to imitate closely. Such an authority would be the founder of his monastery.

§ 3. *The Order of the Gospels.*

It has been already remarked that the colophon is found at the end of St John's Gospel. This furnishes conclusive proof that in the conception of the scribe, St John was, as we are accustomed to regard it, the fourth Gospel. Hereafter reasons will be given for the further belief that the order of the Gospels in his view was identical with that of our modern Bibles, Matthew, Mark, Luke,

John. For the present I content myself with remarking that this fact is one which we have no right to assume without evidence.

It is true, indeed, that only one Irish manuscript is at present known in which the sequence is different. I refer, of course, to the Codex Usserianus, edited by Professor Abbott.¹ This copy exhibits the usual "Western" order, Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. This arrangement appears to have been superseded by the introduction of the Vulgate into Ireland. But there is ground for holding that the older tradition did not give way at once, but that, on the contrary, it exercised considerable influence centuries after the version of St Jerome had gained currency.

This influence comes out very clearly with reference to the evangelical symbols. A little space may be given to the examination of this subject.

The first Christian writer who explains the four forms of the Cherubim in the vision of Ezekiel (i. 10) or the four living creatures of the Apocalypse (iv. 7) as referring to the fourfold Gospel is Irenæus.² Each Gospel presents a different aspect of the life of Christ; and accordingly St Matthew is symbolised by the Man, proclaiming as he does the human descent of the Saviour and the humility of his human life; St Mark by the Eagle, which signifies the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the Church, on account of his opening quotation from the prophets, and his prophetic style of writing; St Luke, who begins his narrative with the story of Zacharias the Priest, by the Calf—the sacrificial victim; St John by the Lion, because he dwells upon the kingdom of Christ and opens his record with the statement of His divine generation.

For two centuries we hear no more of speculations of this kind, and then we come upon evidence which appears to show that the exegesis of Irenæus was not generally received. In the fourth and fifth centuries the assignment of the symbols to the several Gospels is discussed by several writers, the most important of whom was Jerome. He accepts the view of Irenæus as to the symbols of the first and third Gospels, but gives the Lion to St Mark and the Eagle to St John. It is worthy of special remark that in this he claims no originality. He discusses no rival theory. He professes to have derived his opinion on this subject from older writers.³ And these

¹ *Evangeliorum Versio Antehieronymiana ex Codice Usseriano (Dublinensi)* etc., Dublin, 1884.

² Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.*, III. xi. 8 (Harvey, ii. p. 48).

³ "Quidam quattuor evangelia, quos nos quoque in procēmio commentariorum Matthæi sequuti sumus, horum animalium putant nominibus designari," Vallarius, v. 9, 10. This sentence is sufficient to disprove the statement made in the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, s.v. "Evangelists," i. p. 633: "Nor was it till long after the four creatures had been taken as prefiguring the four evangelists, that a special application was made of each symbol to each writer. This may be referred to St Jerome on Ezekiel i." It is strange that the writer of the article should have overlooked, not only the words which we have quoted, but the evidence of Irenæus and that of Ambrose and Augustine.

writers, he tells us, had stated their views quite definitely.¹ St Matthew is denoted by the Man, because he commences his Gospel with the human genealogy of Christ; St Mark is symbolised by the Lion, because at the beginning of his Gospel he speaks of the voice crying in the wilderness (*in quo vox leonis in eremo rugientis auditur*: “*Vox clamantis in deserto*,” etc.); St Luke brings us back to Zachariah the priest, and accordingly to him the Calf is appropriate; St John, taking a higher flight than the rest, proclaims “In the beginning was the Word,” he, therefore, is the Eagle (*qui assumptis pennis aquilæ, et ad altiora festinans, de Verbo Dei disputat*). In the age preceding Jerome and the Vulgate we see that the four symbols were allotted, one to each of the evangelists, and that in the manner to which Jerome himself gave the weight of his authority.

But the witness of Jerome does not stand alone. The language of his contemporary, Ambrose of Milan,² is not indeed free from ambiguity, except when he speaks of St Matthew and St Luke, about whom we have hitherto found no difference of opinion. Having expressed his own belief as to the symbols of these Gospels, he goes on to state the accepted opinion.³ And here it is that his meaning is less clear. His language with reference to the Gospel to which the Lion is to be assigned suggests rather St John than St Mark. “*Alius*,” he says, “*a potentiae cœpit expressione divinæ, quod ex Rege Rex, fortis ex forti, verus ex verò, vivida mortem virtute contempserit*.” But that St Mark and not St John is intended, is made sufficiently plain by what he says about the meaning of the Eagle. Christ, according to most interpreters, he declares, is the Eagle, because He is the resurrection. And then he proceeds, “*Quartus (sc. liber) copiosius cæteris divinæ miracula resurrectionis expressit*.” These words apply to the Gospel according to St John, and to it alone of the four.⁴

Jerome, then, and others whom he followed, Ambrose and the majority of interpreters known to him, were of one mind. The Man belonged to St Matthew, the Lion to St Mark, the Calf to St Luke, and the Eagle to St John. This was, it would seem, the prevalent view in the middle of the fourth century.⁵

It is not necessary to cite more than one other literary witness. That witness is Augustine of Hippo. He writes as follows⁶:

¹ *Com. in Ezek.*, i. (Vallarsius, v. 9, 10, 13); *Com. in Matt. Proœm.* (Vallarsius, vii. 5, 6); *Adv. Jovinianum*, i. 26 (Vallarsius, ii. 280).

² *Expositio Evang. Sec. Lucam, Præf.*, 7, 8 (Migne, xv. 1532).

³ *Plerique tamen putant, etc.*

⁴ It ought, however, to be mentioned that in later times St Mark was regarded as especially the evangelist of the resurrection, and that this was one of the reasons given for the appropriateness to him of the symbol of the Lion. Durandus, *Rationale*, vii. 44, 4.

⁵ Juvencus, the Spanish Presbyter, has indeed been cited as adhering to the opinion of Irenæus. But the verses in which his views have been supposed to be expressed, and of which more hereafter, are spurious. This is shown by Marold in his edition of Juvencus (Leipzig, 1886), p. vii. *sq.*, and by Huemer in the twenty-fourth volume of the Vienna *Corpus*, p. xxiv *sq.*

⁶ *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, I. vi. (9) (Migne, xxxiv. 1046).

“Unde mihi videntur, qui ex Apocalypsi illa quatuor animalia ad intelligendos quatuor Evangelistas interpretati sunt, probabilius aliquid attendisse illi qui leonem in Matthæo, hominem in Marco, vitulum in Luca, aquilam in Joanne intellexerunt, quam illi qui hominem Matthæo, aquilam Marco, leonem Joanni tribuerunt. De principiis enim librorum quamdam conjecturam capere voluerunt, non de tota intentione Evangelistarum, quæ magis fuerat perscrutanda,” etc.

St Augustine here mentions two views of the symbols—his own, which agrees with that of Jerome as regards the third and fourth Gospels, and another which is identical with that of Irenæus.¹ Taken literally, his language implies that each of these opinions had supporters in his own or a previous age. But the forms of literary speech must not be pressed too strictly. It seems at least as likely that he was simply controverting (and, we must add, not very fairly²) the interpretation of Irenæus, and maintaining his own private gloss.³ If he had meant to review the main opinions current on the subject, it is inconceivable that he should have passed over that held by Ambrose and Jerome, of which he cannot have been ignorant.

On the whole, the evidence before us is sufficient to convince us that the majority of fourth-century divines were, in this matter, in agreement with Jerome. And our conclusion is corroborated from an unexpected quarter. A small bronze coin, of uncertain *provenance*, which has been assigned to the time of Justinian, is described and figured by various writers.⁴ On one side it has, to the left, the head of a man; on the right, that of an eagle, each surmounted by a star, the two figures being separated by a cross. Underneath are the words, in characters half Greek, half Latin:—

N A Θ E O C I O H A N N I S

On the other side, similarly disposed, are the heads of a lion and

¹ It is curious to find Mr J. R. Allen, in a passage in which he actually refers to St Augustine (*Christian Symbolism*, p. 265), affirming: “In the first instance the application of the symbolic beasts to the Four Evangelists was general . . . but we have evidence in the Fathers of the fourth century of their being individualised. There appears, however, to have been a difference of opinion as to the appropriation of the symbols of St Matthew and St Mark, although there is none with regard to the other two Evangelists.” Like some other writers on the subject, he appears to have been unaware of the passage in which Irenæus discusses the symbols.

² For Irenæus does not confine himself to observing the opening words of the Gospels. Of St Matthew he writes: “Propter hoc et per totum euangelium humiliiter sentiens et mitis homo seruatus est”; and of St Mark, διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ σύντομον καὶ παρατρέχουσαν τὴν καταγγελίαν πεποίηται· προφητικὸς γὰρ ὁ χαρακτὴρ οὗτος.

³ So Westcott appears to understand him, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, 4th ed., p. 245, note 2.

⁴ P. M. Paciaudi, *De Cultu S. Johannis Baptiste*, etc., Rome, 1755, p. 162; Münter, *Sinnbilder d. Alten Christen*, Altona, 1825, i. p. 45 and pl. i. fig. 15. See also Louisa Twining, *Symbols and Emblems of Early and Mediaeval Christian Art*, London, 1852, p. 92 (pl. xlvi. fig. 10); *Dict. of Christ. Ant.*, i. 634.

an ox, and beneath them N A P C L V C A S, while to the left of the lion's head is the letter V, and to the right of the ox's head the letter S. The designer of the coin, whoever he may have been, had not come under the influence of the great Italian doctor: his semi-Greek letters, and his adoption of the "Western" order of the Gospels, may suffice to produce conviction on that point. It is no less clear that he allotted the symbols to the evangelists in the way which received the imprimatur of Jerome and the later Western Church.

This, then, was probably the tradition which was imported into Ireland when St Patrick and his successors brought thither the pre-hieronymian Latin version of the Holy Scriptures. We shall not be held to make a very violent assumption if we suppose that in Ireland, in the days when this Old Latin version was still current, the symbols were represented in the Gospel books, placed each in immediate connection with its own Gospel. But since the order of the Gospels was then Matthew, John, Luke, Mark, the order of the symbols must have been Man, Eagle, Ox, Lion. Let us suggest another hypothesis, which may, perhaps, seem a little more daring. Suppose that a scribe copied his text from a Vulgate, and the illuminator who completed his work copied his symbols (and it is certainly unlikely that they were, in the majority of cases, altogether original compositions) from an Old Latin exemplar, without observing the transposition in the text of the second and fourth Gospels. In such a case the result would be a manuscript in which the following order was presented:—

1. Miniature of a Man.
2. Gospel of St Matthew.
3. Miniature of an Eagle.
4. Gospel of St Mark.
5. Miniature of an Ox.
6. Gospel of St Luke.
7. Miniature of a Lion.
8. Gospel of St John.

The hypothesis, after all, scarcely deserves to be so called. This is, in fact, the order which obtains in the Book of Durrow.¹ And I do not know what explanation of the fact can be given, except the one which I have ventured to suggest—that the text was taken from a manuscript with a Vulgate text (as it certainly was), and the

¹ "These émblems of the evangelists," writes Bishop Westcott (*Introduction to Study of Gospels*, p. 245), "are not found [i.e., apparently in artistic representation] before the Mosaics of the 15th century." Can "15th" be a misprint for "5th"? Otherwise the statement is incomprehensible. Representations are found in Biblical manuscripts such as the Book of Durrow, in metal work (e.g., the shrine of St Molaise's Gospels in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy), and in architectural ornament from the seventh century onwards, and perhaps from an earlier period. See Mrs Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, 7th ed. (1874), vol. i. p. 133; L. Twining, *Symbols and Emblems*, pp. 90, 92; Garrucci, *Storia dell' Arte Cristiana*, vi. pl. 425.

illuminated pages from one with an Old Latin text. It might perhaps be thought that the explanation is rather to be found in the vagaries of a binder who has misplaced some of the leaves. But this is easily put out of court. The scribe has left sufficient guidance for the binder, and it has been followed. On the recto of the leaf, the verso of which is occupied with the Lion, the words are written in vermilion: "Explicit euangelium saecundum Lucam, incipit saecundum iohannem." One thing is clear, and it strongly confirms our theory, that if the archetype of the Durrow text was an autograph of St Columba (or, indeed, of anyone else), executed in twelve days,¹ that archetype could not have been adorned with elaborate pictorial representations. The illuminator must have gone elsewhere for suggestions. And why not to what may well have been near at hand, an Old Latin manuscript?²

It seems, moreover, quite clear that the Book of Durrow was no solitary example of the confusion between the symbols of St Mark and St John. It became, in the course of time, so common to place the Eagle before St Mark's Gospel, and the Lion before St John, that men forgot that this collocation had its root in a confusion. It came to be the accepted arrangement, with some at least, and reasons were given (quite as good, one doubts not, as those of Jerome for the other view) why the Lion was appropriate to St John, and the Eagle to St Mark.

Before giving proof of this assertion, we may remind our readers that in early Latin manuscripts are sometimes found verses in which the evangelists are commemorated in connection with their symbols. Not the least common of these are the following, which were composed by Sedulius³ in the fifth century:—

Hoc Mattheus agens hominem generaliter implet,
 Marcus ut alta fremit uox per deserta leonis,
 Jura sacerdotis Lucas tenet ore iuuenci,
 More uolans aquilæ uerbo petit astra Ioannes.

¹ See Abbott, "On the Colophon of the Book of Durrow" (*Hermathena*, viii. 199), above, p. 15.

² A patriotic Scotsman, named John Forrest, published in the year 1701 an edition of the works of Sedulius, moved thereto apparently by the supposition that the author of the *Carmen Paschale* was Sedulius *Scotus*, and that the latter cognomen proved him to be a native of North Britain! In one of his notes (p. 20) he declares, "Græci Marco aquilam, Ioanni Leonem tribuunt," a statement which may suggest to those who are fond of referring everything in the early Irish Church to an Eastern source a different origin for the phenomena of the Book of Durrow from that which I have proposed. But no proof of the assertion is given, nor have I succeeded in finding any.

³ *Carmen Paschale*, i. 355–358. The lines are found in at least two British Museum MSS., Add. 11,848 (9th century); Cott. Tib., A. II. (early 10th century). We shall shortly have occasion to quote a similar set of verses from an Irish codex. Compare also those cited from the "Gospels of Beneventum" below, p. 26. The verses are also inscribed on scrolls on an ancient baptistery at Cividale, in Frioul (Garrucci, *ubi sup.*). See also Ciampini, *Vetera Monumenta*, Rome, 1690, i. p. 135.

It is quite obvious to remark that such verses are not likely to be found in any considerable number of manuscripts unless the tradition which they embody was of old standing and widespread.

And now, this inference being accepted, for our proof of the statement made on the last page. The verses just cited connect the evangelists and the symbols in the orthodox and approved fashion. But there are rival lines. About the same time that some of the manuscripts containing the verses of Sedulius just cited were written, an Irish scribe, MacRegol by name (said to have been an abbot of Birr, King's County, Ireland, †820), wrote a book which now rests on the shelves of the Bodleian Library (Auct. D. 2, 19). It is known as the Rushworth Gospels. MacRegol also gives us mnemonic lines on the symbols.¹

Matheus instituit uirtutum tramite moras
bene uiuendi iusto dedit ordine leges

Marcus amat terras inter celumque uolare
et uehymens aquila stricto secat omnia labsu

Lucas uberius descripsit proelia christi
iure sacrato uitulus quia uatum moenia fatur

Johannis fremit ore leo similisque rudenti
intonat intonate terne pandens misteria uite

We recognise at once a faulty transcript of lines, by some editors attributed to Juvencus, and printed as a first preface to his *Historia Evangelica*.² St Mark appears as the Eagle, St John as the Lion, in full agreement with the Book of Durrow. The lines can scarcely have been introduced in this Gospel book merely as an idle embellishment. They point rather to an actual tradition as to the arrangement of the symbols in ancient Irish manuscripts. And this tradition must have been of long standing in the early years of the ninth century. For let us notice that the tradition was, as far as MacRegol was concerned, already dead. There is nothing in the Rushworth Gospels which corresponds to the lines, or which could have suggested their use. The portrait of St Mark is surmounted by a winged Lion,³ that of St John by an Eagle,⁴ and in the latter case, to make assurance doubly sure, the word "iohannis" is written across the figure. The Eagle appears once more in the decoration of the opening page of the fourth Gospel.

It was impossible that these verses should remain long unaltered in such alien surroundings. A century later we find their form slightly, but significantly, changed. The tenth century Irish Gospels

¹ Gilbert, *National MSS. of Ireland*, Pt. i. pl. xxiv.

² See above, p. 19, note 5.

³ Westwood, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, p. 54.

⁴ *Ib.*, pl. xvi.

of MacDurnan are one of the treasures of Lambeth Palace Library. Here again the conventional symbols are represented. The first page of St Mark has an unmistakable Lion's head in the top right-hand corner of the decorated border,¹ and another in the centre of the page, while on the verso of the last leaf of St Matthew "is the winged Lion, with head not unlike that of a sheep," as Mr Westwood informs us.² These facts are conclusive, both as to the order of the Gospels, and as to the symbol assigned to each. Now over what was originally the outside leaf of the manuscript, another leaf is pasted, on which are written the following lines in a modern hand :—

Hoc Mattheus agens hominem generaliter implet
 Marcus ut alta fremit vox per deserta leonis
 Jura sacerdotis Lucas tenet ore juventi
 More volans aquile verbo petit astra Johannes
 Mattheus instituit virtutum tramite mores
 Et bene vivendi justo dedit ordine legem
 Marcus amat terras inter cœlumque volare
 Atque volans aquila stricto secat omnia lapsu
 Lucas uberius describit prelia Christi
 Jure sacer vitulus qui menia fatur auita.

These verses Mr Westwood supposes to have been copied from the page over which they are pasted. And this seems highly probable, the more so as on the verso are found the four symbols to which they refer. Now let us look at them more closely. In the first four lines we have another copy of the verses of Sedulius. The last six are old friends. They are the lines ascribed to Juvencus which we have just now found in the Rushworth Gospels. But we observe one important difference. The final lines on St John have disappeared. What has become of them? They were illegible, says Mr Westwood, in the exemplar from which our modern scribe copied, and which he has so carefully concealed from us.³ One is tempted to offer a different account of the matter. They were not written, we should say, by the seventeenth-century scribe, because they did not exist in the writing of his tenth-century predecessor. And why omitted by him? Because they were distinctly at variance with the tradition which he held. When they were withdrawn, the lines, with a little forcing, were easily squared with the accepted view. Lions, as we know them, are not, it is true, accustomed "terras inter cœlumque volare": but what may not a winged lion of the very rare species found in Irish manuscripts do? Line 7, therefore, applies well enough to St Mark and his lion. Line 8 is excellent for St John. And so, by the omission of lines 11, 12, all is made right.

It may be urged that we have done violence to the seventh and

¹ Westwood, *Anglo-Saxon MSS.*, pl. xxii.

² *Pal. Sac.*, "Gospels of Maeil Brith MacDurnan," p. 12.

³ *Anglo-Saxon MSS.*, p. 69; *Pal. Sac.*, "Gospels of Maeil Brith MacDurnan," p. 8.

eighth lines by giving them this strained interpretation. No doubt we have. But it is plain that, if the verses relating to St John were omitted, some strange method of interpretation must have been used by those who regarded the remainder as a description of the four symbols. And that MacDurnan was not singular in giving them in this incomplete form we have sufficient proof. Witness the eighth century manuscript¹ known as the Gospels of St Boniface, preserved at Fulda, in which they run as follows² :—

Mathius instituit virtutum tramite mores,
Et bene vivendi justo dedit ordine leges.
Marcus amat terras inter coelumque volare.
Et vehemens aquila stricto secat omnia laphsu.
Jure sacer vitulus, qui habitat moenia Patris ;
Lucas uberius describit proelia Christi.

It will not be maintained that in this manuscript, as well as in the Gospels of MacDurnan, the last two lines were omitted because they were illegible in the exemplar.

We may refer briefly, in the last place, to another manuscript, which contains the lines of Ps.-Juvencus, the celebrated Codex Sangermanensis.³ This Bible was not penned by an Irish scribe. It is French in origin, having been written, according to M. Berger, in the neighbourhood of Lyons. But manifold traces exist, in its Gospel text, of Irish influence. Possibly from an Irish source came the lines in question, which were, in all likelihood, in the exemplar, accompanied by drawings of the evangelical symbols. The manuscript itself is almost entirely devoid of ornament. The first four of our verses are found immediately before the opening words of St Mark's Gospel, the fifth and sixth before St Luke, the remaining two before St John. As in most of the other cases which we have examined, they are altered in such a way as to adapt them to the customary allocation of the symbols. But the process by which this

¹ Mr H. J. White kindly informs me that, judging from Schannat's facsimile, this was probably the date of the codex. The scribe, Vidrug by name, was apparently a companion of St Boniface († 755).

² Schannat, *Vindemiae Literariae Fuldae et Lipsiae* 1723 p. 224 sqq. Westwood (*Anglo Saxon MSS.* p. 55), who does not appear to have seen the manuscript, commits a curious blunder with reference to these lines. He implies that they occur twice in the Fulda Gospels, in slightly different forms. But the first set of verses which he quotes, are simply a mis-reading of the lines by Brower, which Schannat cites for the purpose of correcting it. Brower's punctuation (as Schannat represents it) is a proof that strained exegesis was not confined to Irish scribes :

Matheus, instituit virtutum tramite mores.
Et bene vivendi justo dedit ordine leges
Marcus. Amat terras inter coelumque volantem
Joannes aquilam. Sancto regit omnia lapsu
Lucas, uberius describit proelia Christi.

³ My knowledge of this manuscript (*g₁*: Paris, B.N. 11,553) is derived from Bishop Wordsworth's *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, No. I., and from Berger's *Histoire de la Vulgate*, pp. 65-72.

is accomplished is different from that which we have observed elsewhere. The names of the second and fourth evangelists are interchanged, and the lines referring to them transposed, the verses being otherwise unaltered except by mistakes of the transcriber. These facts point to the inference that one of the Irish ancestors of the codex was a manuscript with the symbols arranged as in the Book of Durrow. That is to say, either its Gospels followed the Vulgate order, while the symbols adhered to that of the Old Latin, or, more probably, the order of the Gospels was "Western," that of the symbols Vulgate. The lines in the Saint Germain manuscript run as follows:—

Mattheus instituit uirtutum tramite mores
Et bene uiuendi iusto dedit ordine legis

Marcus fremit ore leo similisque rudenti
Intonaet eternae pandens mysteria uitiae

Lucas uberius describit proelia xpi
Iure sacer uitulus quia uatum munia fatur

Ioannes amat terras intra caelumque uolare.
Et uehemens aquila stricto secat omnia lapsu.¹

The evidence passed under review will have demonstrated, if I mistake not, that at one time there must have existed a large number of Irish manuscripts in which, while the text followed the Vulgate order, the symbols adhered to that of the older versions. The old and the new sequence were thus brought into direct conflict. The conflict could only issue in one or other of three results.

1. The tradition as to the connection between the evangelists and their symbols might give way, and the accidental juxtaposition of St John with the Lion and St Mark with the Eagle become permanent, and be transformed into a new tradition. This, as we have seen, did to a certain extent actually happen.

¹ I think it better to give in a footnote than in the text the apparently unique verses found in the so-called Gospels of Beneventum (century viii. or ix., Brit. Mus., Add. 5463). Whether or not M. Berger is right in his contention (*L'Histoire*, p. 91 *sq.*) that this is a French codex, it is certain that it bears marks, in its readings, of Irish influence. The following lines, extracted from it, are plainly founded on those of Sedulius. But some of the words (I have printed them in italics) are not derived from this source. They are inappropriate as they stand, and bear witness, as I cannot doubt, to the influence of the rival theory of the symbols upon the scribe:—

Primus Mattheus hominem generaliter implens
Marcus leonis uocem rugiens intonans *celse*
Iure Lucas tenet sacerdotii simulque more iuvenci
Iohannes instar aquilæ uolans in principio *intonans* uerbum.

"Rugiens intonans" in line 2 may, perhaps, recall "rugienti intonat" in Ps.-Juvencus; the more readily since neither verb occurs in the lines of Sedulius.

2. The older tradition as to the appropriation of the symbols might remain. In this case it is natural to suppose that the order of the symbols would give way to that of the Gospels themselves, and so there would ensue a complete victory for the Vulgate. This we know to have taken place in the great majority of Irish Gospel manuscripts now remaining. But another alternative is possible, though less probable. For

3. The order of the Gospels might have been altered to suit that of the symbols, and thus, so far as arrangement is concerned, the victory would lie with the Old Latin. This possibility is sufficient to make us pause before assuming without examination that the order of the Gospels in a given Irish manuscript is identical with that of Jerome's Vulgate.

But an objection may be made. If the arrangement of the Book of Durrow was not altogether exceptional, why is this copy the only one now known in which it is found? And if the possibility just suggested is one that ought seriously to be reckoned with, why has no single Irish Vulgate manuscript been reported in which the Gospels follow the older sequence?

In answering these questions, let us call to mind that very few indeed of the extant Irish manuscripts date further back than the ninth or perhaps the eighth century. The Book of Durrow is the earliest which we possess, and can scarcely be put later than the closing years of the seventh century.¹ In other words, all other copies belong to a period when the victory for the Vulgate had been practically won. The strange thing really is, that traces of the contest should remain in their pages even so late as the tenth century. Had we a few more Vulgate manuscripts ranging from the sixth to the eighth century, we should probably find others exhibiting the same phenomenon in the matter of the symbols as the Book of Durrow.

But even late copies are not without traces of the older arrangement in their illuminations. We may be allowed to mention two cases in point. Wattenbach describes a copy of the Gospels now deposited in the German museum at Nuremberg, but belonging to the library of the Princes of Oettingen-Wallerstein at Möttingen.² It is written in half-uncials of unmistakably Irish character, and is ascribed by Wattenbach to the seventh, if not to the sixth, century.³ Now the last page of this manuscript has, above the versified colophon, a rude miniature of a lion, surmounted by the words (probably a more recent addition), "Ecce leo stat super euangelium." It does not appear from the description whether St John's Gospel ends on this or the preceding page. But in either case the picture

¹ Scrivener, *Introduction to Criticism of N. T.*, 4th ed., ii. 78; Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 41.

² Wattenbach's account of this manuscript appeared in the *Anzeiger für Kunde des Deutschen Vorzeit* (Oct. 1869), and in the *Revue Celtique*, i, p. 27 *sqq.*

³ The reader may perhaps suspect that this date is somewhat too early.

may be assumed to be connected with that Gospel, and to be a reminiscence of the days when the lion was regarded as the appropriate symbol of St John. And this, although in the Möttingen MS. the Gospels follow the now usual order, and although inscribed on the verso of the first leaf it has verses which begin thus:—

Quam in speciosa quadriga,
Homo, leo, vitulus et aquila.

Our second example shall be an early ninth-century manuscript first made known to students of the Vulgate by M. Samuel Berger,¹ the Book of the Confraternities of Pfäffers. It contains extracts from the Gospels, for reading in the ecclesiastical offices, in an Irish text. The ornamentation is also in part Irish. Each Gospel has its symbol, but the Lion of St Mark is distinguished by having two eagles below it. It is right to add, however, that the origin of these eagles may be merely the fancy of an illuminator desirous of producing a page more richly adorned than usual. The Calf of St Luke, for example, has in like manner below it two lions; and the symbols of all four evangelists are surmounted by figures of animals which have no appearance of being symbolic.

But further, if most of our copies were probably *written* not before the eighth century, they have certainly all been *bound* at a more recent date.² And binders have little scruple in following their own whims as to the arrangement of the leaves of the books which are left to their mercy. The binders of our Irish codices knew no order of the Gospels, and no system of arranging the symbols, but one: and we need scarcely doubt that in their hands the manuscripts would, as far as possible, be made to suit it. Not much ingenuity would be required if the several Gospels were written in separate fasciculi and the symbols on detached leaves, one side of which was left blank. This may possibly have been not so uncommon as one might imagine.³

And finally, if scribes and binders were biassed by the tradition of later centuries, no less so are modern palaeographers. There is scarcely any instance in which the "make-up" of Irish manuscripts, of which descriptions have been published, has been examined with care, in order to discover whether the binder has adhered to the intention of the original scribe as to the order of the books and the position of the illuminated symbols. And even where the arrangement as it now exists is exceptional, the prevailing tradition has been strong enough to blind the eyes of observers to the anomaly. To take but one instance. Mr Westwood no doubt examined the Book of Durrow with much care. Yet in his *Palaeographia Sacra*, though he refers to the symbols, he never mentions that they are

¹ *L'Histoire de la Vulgate*, pp. 57 sq., 419.

² "Les anciens Irlandais ne paraissent pas avoir connu l'art de la reliure," Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 34.

³ See above, p. 13.

misplaced. In his *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* he goes further. The symbol which in the manuscript precedes St John is spoken of (p. 21) as the "Lion of St Mark,"¹ and when (pls. iv., v.) reproductions are given of the Man, the Lion, the Ox, and the Eagle, the two former are described as the "symbols of St Matthew and St Mark," the two latter as those "of St Luke and St John." This is a warning not to accept, without examination, the statements of palæographers on such matters as those which are now before us. We may well suspect that a more careful scrutiny will bring to light in our libraries Irish Gospels, in which the order of either symbols or evangelists is different from that which is now received.

But some who have followed me thus far may now protest, You have caused us to wade through pages of argument, and at the end we are treated to an exhortation to caution and accuracy, which has no very close relation to the Book of Mulling. Benevolent reader, the charge is true. I crave pardon, and hasten to another subject whose relevance is indubitable. That the labour expended on the last few pages has not been altogether in vain may perhaps appear in the sequel.

¹ Compare also J. Romilly Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism in Great Britain and Ireland before the Thirteenth Century*, London, 1887, p. 383.

CHAPTER III.

THE SECTIONS.

M. BERGER has more than once¹ directed the attention of students of the Vulgate to the importance of certain accessories to the Biblical text found in many manuscripts. Among these are what he calls the "Summaries" (*sommaries*) of the Gospels, more usually known as *capitula* or *breves causæ*, which appear to have taken their origin in very early times from the lectionary system of the Western Church.

The Book of Mulling has no summaries. But in it the Synoptic Gospels, and to a certain extent St John also, are divided as originally written² into paragraphs or sections. It is the purpose of the present chapter to investigate the nature of these sections. The inquiry may be thought to be trivial; and to remove this impression it will be well to state at once the conclusion to which it leads us in the case of the Gospels of St Matthew and St Luke. The sections of these Gospels are not mere arbitrary divisions of the scribe: they will be found to have been, at least approximately, reproduced by him from his exemplar, and to correspond pretty closely to the divisions marked in the Book of Durrow and Ussher's manuscript, which in the main agree with the *capitulatio* of the Gospels preserved in the Books of Durrow and Kells, and elsewhere.

The easiest way to make good this assertion in the case of St Luke's Gospel is to place in parallel columns the beginnings of the sections in the Books of Mulling and Durrow and Ussher's Codex. The striking agreement between the three systems of division will thus immediately appear. Only those sections of the Book of Durrow which are numbered are represented in the table, and each is accompanied by the number which appears opposite it in the manuscript—similarly the numbers in Ussher's manuscript are added whenever they are legible.³ In the left column are given the numbers of the

¹ *Revue Celtique*, vi. 356; *L'Histoire de la Vulgate*, pp. 307 *sqq.*, 343 *sqq.*

² The corrector of the manuscript has adopted a different system of division, as we shall see hereafter. With this we are not concerned in the present chapter.

³ The numbers given are those of the first hand. They have been altered by a corrector as follows. The indication of the beginning of the section (iii. 1) which should have been numbered v. was omitted. Hence two consecutive sections were numbered respectively iv. and vi. This had the appearance of a blunder, which was remedied by depressing the sectional numbers above vi. (not apparently, however, vi. itself) by one. Similarly §§ 9, 10 were written together, the next section being numbered xi. Hence the numbers from xi. onwards were depressed by two. A

corresponding capitula as found in the summary in the Book of Durrow. The explanation of the asterisks and obeli I reserve for the present. The table, it is hoped, independently of its more immediate purpose, may prove useful to those who are engaged in studying the ancient sections of the Gospels.

CAPITULA.	BOOK OF MULLING.	BOOK OF DURROW.	CODEX USSERIANUS.
[I.]	* i. 1. * i. 5. i. 19. † i. 20. i. 23. † i. 34. i. 46. i. 56. i. 59.		i. 1. i. 5.
II.	{ * ii. 1. * ii. 21. ii. 25. ii. 36. ii. 38.		I[L] (? ms.) ii. 1. ii. 21.
III.	{		
III.		III. ii. 42.	III. (ms.) ii. 42. ii. 48. "Et dixit" (?)
V.	* iii. 1. iii. 3. iii. 7. iii. 10. † iii. 16. "Ego." † iii. 17. iii. 19.	V. iii. 1.	
VI.	* iii. 21. * iv. 1. iv. 14.	VI. iii. 21.	VI. iii. 21. iv. 1.
VII.	{ * iv. 16. iv. 22.	VII. iv. 16.	VII. iv. 16.
VIII.	{ * iv. 33. iv. 38. iv. 41. iv. 42.	VIII. iv. 33.	VIII. iv. 31.
VIII.	* v. 1. v. 4. v. 10. "Et dixit."	VIII. v. 1.	VIII. v. 1.
X.	* v. 12. v. 15.		
XI.	* v. 17. v. 18.	XI. v. 17.	XI. v. 17.
XII.	* v. 27. v. 36.	XII. v. 27.	v. 27.
XIII.	* vi. 1.	XIII. vi. 1.	XIII. vi. 1.
XIII.	* vi. 6.	XIII. vi. 13.	vi. 12.
XV.	{ † vi. 20. "Beati." † vi. 21. † vi. 21. "Beati" sec. † vi. 22. vi. 39.	XV. vi. 41.	XV. vi. 41. XVI. vii. 1.
XVI.	{		
XVII.	* vii. 1. † vii. 9. "Amen."	XVII. vii. 11. XVIII. vii. 18.	XVII. vii. 11. XVIII. vii. 19.
XVIII.			
XVIII.	{ † vii. 28. vii. 31. * vii. 36.	XVIII. vii. 36.	XVIII. vii. 36.

few numbers seem to have been overlooked by the corrector, and in at least two instances three instead of two has been subtracted (Abbott, pp. 603, 613). Dr Abbott's account of this, though substantially correct, is expressed in terms somewhat too general (p. iv).

CAPITULA.	BOOK OF MULLING.	BOOK OF DURROW.	CODEX USSERIANUS.
XXI.	{ * viii. 1. viii. 4. viii. 11. viii. 16.	XX. viii. 1.	XX. viii. 1.
XXII.	* viii. 22.	XXI. viii. 22.	XXI. viii. 22.
XXIII.	viii. 32. viii. 37. "ipse."	XXII. viii. 26.	XXII. viii. 26.
XXIV.	* viii. 40. viii. 42. "Et."	XXIII. viii. 40.	XXIII. viii. 40.
XXV.	ix. 6.	XXIII. ix. 1.	X[XXIII.] ix. 1.
XXVI.	{ ix. 12. * ix. 18. ix. 21. ¹	XXV. ix. 10.	XXV. ix. 10.
XXVII.	ix. 33. * ix. 37.	XXVI. ix. 18.	XXVI. ix. 28.
XXVIII.	* ix. 57.	XXVII. ix. 37.	XX[VII]. ix. 37.
XXIX.	† x. 7. "Dignus." x. 10. x. 16.	XXVIII. ix. 51.	XXVIII. ix. 51.
XXX.	* x. 17.	XXVIII. ix. 57.	XXVIII. ix. 57.
XXXI.	* x. 25. † x. 28. x. 31.	XXX. x. 1.	x. 1.2
XXXII.	* x. 38. * xi. 2. "Pater." xi. 5. xi. 9.	XXXI. x. 21.	XXXI. x. 17.
XXXIII.	xi. 11.	XXXII. x. 25.	XXXII. x. 25.
XXXIV.	{ * xi. 27. xi. 35.	XXXIII. x. 38.	x. 38.
XXXV.	* xi. 44. * xi. 53. xii. 4. xii. 8. ³	XXXIII. xi. 1.	XXXIII. xi. 1.
XXXVI.	xii. 11. xii. 15. xii. 16.	XXXV. xi. 14.	XXXV. xi. 14.
XXXVII.	* xi. 53.	XXXVI. xi. 37.	XXXVI. xi. 27.
XXXVIII.	xii. 4. xii. 8. ³		XXXVII. xi. 37.
XXXIX.	xii. 11. xii. 15. xii. 16.		xi. 43.
X[L].	* xii. 22. xii. 27.	XL. xii. 13.	XXXVIII. xi. 53.
XLI.	xii. 40. ⁴	XXXVIII. (<i>sic ms.</i>)	XL. xii. 13.
XLII. a.	* xii. 49. xii. 54. † xii. 56.	[xii. 32.]	XLI. xii. 32.
XLIII.			XLII. xii. 49.
XLII. b. (xiii. 6).	* xiii. 6. † xiii. 7. "Et ecce."		XLIII. xiii. 1.
XLIII.	* xiii. 10. xiii. 18. ⁵	XLIII. xiii. 10.	XLIII. xiii. 10.
XLV.	† xiii. 28. "uos."	XLV. xiii. 22.	XLV. xiii. 22.
XLVI.	* xiii. 30.		XLVI. xiii. 31.
XLVII.	* xiv. 1. xiv. 12.6	XLVI. (<i>ms.</i>) xiv. 1.	XLVII. xiv. 1.
XLVIII.	* xiv. 25. xiv. 34 (?).	XLVIII. xiv. 25.	XLVIII. xiv. 25.
XLVIII.	* xv. 1. xv. 4 (?).	XLVIII. xv. 1.	XLVIII. xv. 1.
L.	† xv. 6. "Congratu- lamini" (?). * xv. 11. xv. 20. "Cum au- xv. 29. [tem.]	L. xv. 11.	xv. 11.

¹ Apparently a fresh capitulum begins here (or at v. 23) in the Book of Armagh.

² This division does not appear in Dr Abbott's edition. But above the word "hec" in what he numbers l. 1 (p. 497) are distinctly visible the marks , , , indicating the termination of one and the commencement of another section.

³ Apparently the beginning of a capitulum in the Codex Epternacensis.

⁴ A capitulum begins here in the Codex Aureus.

⁵ Begins a fresh section in the Codex Epternacensis.

⁶ Beginning of a fresh capitulum in the Book of Armagh and the Codex Epternacensis.

CAPITULA.	BOOK OF MULLING.	BOOK OF DURROW.	CODEX USSERIANUS.
LI.	* xvi. 1.	LI. xvi. i.	LI. xvi. 1.
LII.	* xvi. 13.	LII. xvi. 13.	LII. xvi. 13.
LIII.	{ xvi. 14. * xvi. 19. †xvii. 1 "Uæ."	LIII. xvi. 19.	LIII. xvi. 19.
LIV.	* xvii. 3.	LIV. xvii. 3.	LIV. xvii. 3. "Si autem peccauerit."
LV.	†xvii. 8 "Et post."	LV. xvii. 11.	LV. xvii. 11.
LVI.	* xvii. 11. * xvii. 20. xvii. 28. xvii. 34.	LVI. xvii. 20.	LVI. xvii. 20.
LVII.	* xviii. 1.	LVII. xviii. 1.	LVII. xviii. 1.
LVIII.	* xviii. 9. xviii. 15. †xviii. 17.	LVIII. xviii. 9.	LVIII. [I]. xviii. 9.
LIX.	* xviii. 18.		
LX.	xviii. 23.		
LXI.	* xviii. 31.	LX. xviii. 31.	LX. xviii. 31.
LXII.	{ xix. 34. * xix. 35. * xix. 1. * xix. 11. xix. 12. † xix. 26.	LXI. xix. 1. LXII. xix. 11.	LXI. xix. 1. LXII. xix. 11.
LXIII.	* xix. 28. xix. 37.	LXIII. xix. 28.	LXIII. xix. 29.
LXIV.	* xx. 1.	LXIII. xx. 1.	LXIII. xx. 1.
LXV.	* xx. 9. †xx. 13.	LXV. xx. 9.	LXV. xx. 9.
LXVI.		LXVI. xx. 20.	LXVI. xx. 20.
LXVII.	* xx. 27.	LXVII. xx. 27.	LXVII. xx. 27.
LXVIII.	* xx. 46.	LXVIII. xx. 45 (ms.). LXVIII. xxi. 5.	LXVIII. xx. 45. LXVIII. xxi. 5.
LXVIII.	{ xxi. 7.		
LXX.	{ xxi. 23. xxi. 34.	LXX. xxi. 20.	LXX. xxi. 20.
LXXI.	* xxi. 37.		
LXXII.	{ xxi. 7. * xxi. 24.	LXXII. xxii. 7. LXXIII. xxii. 24.	LXXII. xxii. 7. LXXIII. xxii. 24.
LXXIII.	* xxi. 31.	LXXIII. xxii. 31.	LXXIII. xxii. 31.
[LXXIII.]	* xxi. 39.	LXXV. xxii. 39.	LXX[V]. xxii. 39.
[LXXV.]	* xxi. 47.	LXXVI. xxii. 47.	xxii. 47 (?)
LXXVI.		LXXVII. xxii. 66.	LXXVII. xxii. 66.
LXXVII.	{ xxii. 17. * xxii. 26. xxii. 34. xxii. 38. xxii. 44. xxii. 47.	LXXVIII. xxii. 26.	LXXVIII. xxii. 26.
LXXVIII. (sic).	{ xxiv. 1. xxiv. 10. xxiv. 12. xxiv. 13. xxiv. 36. xxiv. 50.		xxiv. 1 (?)

In the above table an obelus (†) indicates that though the place thus signalised has indications which generally betoken the beginning of a section (*i.e.* in most cases a large letter, sometimes set out in the margin, and preceded by a mark of punctuation), it is yet not so to be regarded. The large letters, etc., in such places are obviously due to the fancy of our scribe, or of the writer of a manuscript from which his is derived. He shows, for example, his fondness for symmetrical

¹ Either this verse, or verse 34, seems to be the first of a fresh capitulum in the Book of Armagh and the Codex Epternacensis.

writing at vi. 20–22, he exhibits elsewhere a propensity to write such words as “dixit,” “dicebat,” etc., in the margin without any apparent purpose (xix. 26, etc.), and he is prone to give similar prominence to “Et ecce” (v. 18. xiii. 7). With more reason he detaches a remarkable saying (i. 68. iii. 16, etc.) or even a portion of a saying to which he wishes to give emphasis (xii. 56, etc.) from the context by writing the first letter in the margin. Omitting all such cases we have not more than 142 sections in St Luke’s Gospel. Of these, 65 begin at the same places (or within a verse thereof) as sections of *durm* or *r₁*, or are distinctly supported in opposition to these manuscripts by the summary. These are marked with asterisks (*). In 6 other places *mull*, differing from *durm* and *r₁*, is consistent with the summary (vi. 39, ix. 12, xi. 11, 35, xii. 15, xxi. 7).¹ These 71 sections are all satisfactorily explained on the supposition that *mull* was copied from an exemplar having divisions similar to *r₁* and *durm*. We come now to consider some cases which might be held to point in another direction.

There are in the first place divisions omitted in *mull* (vi. 12, vii. 11, ix. 51, x. 1, xiii. 22, xx. 20²). These omissions, numerous though they be, need not surprise us, for similar omissions are frequent in *durm*, and occur also in *r₁*, as is proved by the numbers³ or by comparison with the other authorities (iii. 1, v. 12, vi. 6, ix. 18, xviii. 35), and perhaps also in the summary (ix. 37, xviii. 31, xxii. 24). In other cases we cannot be sure whether a division has been omitted, or wrongly placed (ii. 38, vii. 31, ix. 6): but if we may trust the summary, misplacements are met with also in *r₁* (ix. 28, xii. 32). On the whole we may say that the sectional divisions of *durm* and *r₁*, reappear in *mull* as accurately as could be expected on the supposition that the latter is copied, or descended from an exemplar in which these sections were preserved. There remain, however, about 50 or 60 divisions to which nothing corresponds in the other manuscripts. What is to be said of these? They will be found in almost all cases to be perfectly natural divisions of the text, a good many of them being in fact marked as paragraphs in printed editions. Some may correspond to sections the indication of which has been omitted in the other authorities, for all alike have been shown to be guilty of omissions.⁴ Some again may be accounted for by the ambiguity of the summary, which now and then leaves it uncertain at which of two or more places a section is intended to begin. Our scribe in such cases may combine the testimony of

¹ A vinculum connecting two or more references indicates that the summary leaves it uncertain at which of these places the section was intended to begin.

² The capitulum (66) which begins at this verse is, however, part of the preceding in the summary in the Book of Armagh and the Codex Epternacensis, as in our manuscript.

³ See above p. 30 note 3.

⁴ Such may be the paragraphs beginning at ix. 21, xii. 8, 40, xiii. 18, xiv. 12, xvii. 28. See above.

several witnesses. See for example ii. 21, 25 ; xi. 11, 14 ; xii. 13, 15, 16 ; xix. 11, 12 ; xxi. 34, 37 ; xxiii. 17, 26, 34. But probably the majority are to be regarded as sub-divisions of the sections,¹ due either to our scribe or to the scribe of his archetype. It will be observed, as might be expected, that these extra divisions are most numerous where the older sections are longest, that is, at the beginning and end of the Gospel. At these places also, the indications in the summary are unusually ambiguous and inadequate.

A good illustration of the way in which extra sections would have appeared and some divisions been omitted in a manuscript written as we suppose the Book of Mulling to have been, is found in the case of the Codex Sangermanensis (g_1). The Gospel according to St Matthew in this manuscript is divided into 74 numbered sections,² which are further sub-divided. The first words of each section are written in uncial rubric, and in the case of all but two (60, 61) the beginnings of the sections are the beginnings of paragraphs. There are in all about 163 paragraphs. Now if a transcript were made from this manuscript, preserving with absolute fidelity its divisions, but with the numbers omitted and the uncial writing copied in the ordinary hand of the scribe, two of the sectional division marks would be omitted, and there would be left no less than 91 indications of division not corresponding to recognised capitula—quite as large a proportion as we actually find in Mulling's St Luke. If the fancy or the stupidity of the copyist were exercised, the proportion would of course be still further increased. The Gospel of St Luke, in fact, in our book would appear to have been copied by a careful scribe from an archetype in which the sections were given less accurately than in g_1 , while the sub-divisions were less numerous.

The evidence in the case of St Matthew's Gospel for the connection of the sections of the Book of Mulling with the ancient divisions is exactly parallel to that just given for St Luke.

In the following table will be found marked the beginning of each section of the first Gospel in our book. $Durm$ and r_1 being almost useless here for our purpose, I have had recourse to the Codex Sangermanensis (g_1). This manuscript contains a "capitulatio" and the corresponding sections are indicated in the text of the Gospels. The numbers to the left are those found in the text and capitulatio of the St Germain manuscript. In some cases our book agrees with the text of this codex against the capitulatio: this is indicated by the letters *marg.*, enclosed in brackets after the numeral. At other times a section in the Book of Mulling is consistent with the summary, but at variance with the marginal number in g_1 . When this happens the letters (*cap.*) are added. In some instances of this kind the summary and the text of g_1 contradict one another. Finally it

¹ Many of them are mentioned as separate headings in the *Capitula*. E.g., ii. 36, v. 36, xi. 5, 9, xii. 27, xiv. 12, 34, xviii. 15, xxiii. 34, xxiv. 13, 50.

² The numeral has in one case (§ 60) been accidentally omitted.

happens pretty frequently that our manuscript has two marks of division either of which would accord with the commencement of the section as described in the summary. This is marked by the use of a vinculum. Thus, for example, a division is marked in our book at vii. 7, and again at vii. 13. Either of these may be the beginning of § 16 according to the capitulatio, though in the text of g₁ the corresponding numeral is found at the latter place.

CODEX SANGER-MANENSIS.	BOOK OF MULLING.	CODEX SANGER-MANENSIS.	BOOK OF MULLING.
I. (marg.).	i. 1.	XXXIII.	xii. 25.
I. (cap).	i. 18.	XXXV.	xiii. 1.
II.	ii. 1.	XXXVI.	xii. 9.
III. (cap).	ii. 17.	XXXVII.	xii. 38.
III.	iii. 1.	XXXVIII.	xii. 46.
	iii. 5.	XXXVIII.	xiii. 1.
	iii. 10 "Omnis."	XL.	xiii. 24.
V.	iv. 1.		xiii. 31.
	iv. 5 (?) .		xiii. 33 (?) .
VII.	iv. 17.	XLII.	xiii. 36.
	iv. 21.		xiii. 53.
	iv. 23.	XLIII.	xiv. 1.
VIII.	v. 1. }		xiv. 23 "Ues-
	† v. 3-10.1		pere."
	v. 13.	XLVI.	xv. 15.
	v. 14.		xv. 21 (?) .
	v. 21.	XLVII.	xv. 28.
X.	v. 26 (?) . }	XLVIII.	xv. 32.
XI.	v. 44.		xvi. 13.
XII.	vi. 2.	LI.	xvii. 22 (?) .
	† vi. 9 "Pater."	LII.	xvii. 24.
	† vi. 14.		xviii. 1.
XIII	vi. 16.	LIII.	xviii. 8.
	vi. 23.		xviii. 15.
XIII.	vi. 24.	LIII.	xviii. 19.
XV.	vii. 3.	LV.	xviii. 23.
	vii. 7.		xix. 1.
XVI.	vii. 13. }	LVI.	xix. 13.
XVII.	vii. 21.		xix. 16 ³ .
XVIII.	vii. 28.	LVII.	xix. 22.
	vii. 29 (?) . }	LVII. (marg.).	xix. 27.
	vii. 29 "Non	LVIII.	xx. 1.
	enim" (?) . }	LVIII.	xx. 17.
XVIII.	viii. 1 (?) .	LX. ⁴	xx. 29.
	viii. 5.	LXI.	xxi. 1 "Tunc."
	† viii. 11 (?) .		xxi. 17.
XX.	viii. 14.	LXII.	xxi. 23 (?) .
XXI.	viii. 18.		xxi. 33.
	viii. 23.2	LXIII.	xxii. 11.
XXII.	viii. 28 (?) .	LXIII.	xxii. 15.
XXIII.	ix. 2 "Et	LXV.	xxii. 23.
	uidens."	XLVI.	xxiii. 1.
XXIII.	ix. 10.	LXVIII.	xxiii. 13.
XXV.	ix. 14.		xxiv. 1.
XXVII.	ix. 27.	LXX.	xxiv. 14 (?) .
XXVIII.	ix. 35.	LXXI.	xxv. 1.
	x. 5.	LXXII.	xxv. 30 (?) .
XXX.	x. 16. }	LXXXIII. ⁵	xxv. 31.
	x. 23.		xxvi. 1.
	x. 25 "Et si		xxvi. 17.
	patrem" (?) .	LXXXIII.	xxvi. 31.
XXXI. (cap).	x. 34.		xxvii. 11.
XXXII.	xi. 1.		xxvii. 45.
	† xi. 10 "Ecce."	LXXXIII.	xxvii. 62.
XXXIII.	xi. 16. }		xxviii. 1.
	xi. 20.		xxviii. 16.

¹ First letter of "beatus" always written as if beginning a section.

² A capitulum begins here in the Codex Epternacensis.

³ This, rather than xix. 13, is probably the true beginning of the section. See the authorities in Wordsworth's *Vulgate*, i. 33.

⁴ The numeral is omitted in margin.

⁵ Numbered lxxii. in margin by an error.

This table seems to need little comment. It does not appear to leave room for doubting that the divisions of our manuscript were ultimately founded on those represented in the summary and text of g_1 . A good many of the ancient divisions are indeed omitted or misplaced (6, 9, 26, 29, 41, 44, 45, 49, 50, 67), but the coincidence of those which remain with the sections of g_1 is most marked.

It is worth while to remark that, whether the arguments just used are sound or not, it is quite certain that the divisions of St Matthew and St Luke in our manuscript have nothing to do with the Eusebian sections. These number 324 in St Luke, Mulling's paragraphs are about 160, and only about 100 of them begin at the same point as a Eusebian section. In St Matthew the number of paragraphs is less than 110, the Eusebian sections 355. The beginning of paragraph and section coincide in about 60 places.

When we turn to St Mark we discover that all is changed. This Gospel was most undoubtedly derived from an exemplar in which the principle of division was that of Eusebius. The proof is easy. The Eusebian sections marked in the first ten chapters of St Mark in Tischendorf's edition of the Codex Amiatinus are 116 in number. Of these at least 97 (more probably 102), coincide with Mulling's paragraphs, not more than 11 (probably 6) are omitted, and 6 are differently placed, while no sub-divisions are discernible. It is difficult to fix the numbers exactly, owing to the worn state of the manuscript, but those which I have given may be regarded as very nearly exact, and they tell their own tale.

It seems almost impossible to find order or system in the numerous divisions of St John. But punctuation marks (usually one or two points, . or ...) which elsewhere are used sparingly, are here so frequent, and capitals are used in such arbitrary fashion, that one is led to surmise that the text of this Gospel had as a not very remote ancestor a copy written *per cola et commata*. We may take as an example chap. xxi. vv. 19–23, which appear thus (the vertical lines indicating the ends of the lines of writing):—

Hoc hautem dixit significans qua morte clari | ficaturus esset deum.
et hoc cum dixis | set. dicit ei, sequere me conuersus | petrus uidit.¹
illum discipulum quem dilegebat. ih̄s | sequentem qui recubuit in
coena | supra pectus eius. et dicit quis domine | qui tradit te .. Hunc
ergo cum | uidisset petrus dicit ih̄s Domine | quid hic Dicit ei ih̄s Sic
eum uolo | manere donec ueniam quid ad te | tu me sequeris exiuit
ergo sermo iste | inter fratres quia discipulus ille | non moriretur Sed
sic uolo ma | nere donec ueniam. quid ad te | Hic etc.

Better passages than this might have been chosen for exhibiting the punctuation of the manuscript. One reason for preferring this one will appear presently. We see at once that the scribe copied the marks mechanically from his exemplar, omitting some—and these not the least important from the point of view of the reader. Assuming

¹ The point here is doubtful.

that each of those which he preserves represents the close, and each capital letter the beginning, of a line, and guessing where such guidance is not forthcoming, we may write the passage "stichometrically" as follows:—

Hoc hautem dixit
 significans qua morte clarificaturus esset deum
 et hoc cum dixisset
 dicit ei
 sequere me
 conuersus petrus uidit illum discipulum
 quem dilegebat ih̄s
 sequentem
 qui recubuit in coena supra pectus eius
 et dicit
 quis domine qui tradit te
 Hunc ergo cum uidisset petrus
 dicit ih̄s
 Domine quid hic
 Dicit ei ih̄s
 Sic eum uolo manere donec ueniam
 quid ad te
 tu me sequeris
 exiuit ergo sermo iste inter fratres
 quia discipulus ille non moriretur
 Sed sic uolo manere donec veniam
 quid ad te
 Hic, etc.

We perceive that the marks have guided us correctly (except in one case) in the few places where they occur. We may now point out another fact. The scribe has omitted a few words before "sed sic uolo." We may suppose them to have run

et non dixit illud ih̄s quia non moriretur,

and to have been passed over through homœoteleton. They would naturally form a single line (or perhaps two complete lines) of the exemplar, if it was written as I have supposed; and so the error would be completely explained.

This is indeed only one of a number of similar cases. The fourth Gospel is written carelessly, and the scribe has been guilty of many omissions. The most notable are the following: iv. 23, 24 (qui adorent...deus et); v. 37 (et qui me misit); vi. 54 (amen amen dico uobis); vii. 8 (hunc...festum); 28 (docens...ih̄s et); 42 (de bethleem...dauid); viii. 13 (testimonium perhibes); 39 (dixit eis ih̄s); 46; ix. 20 (et quia...est); 21 (nos nescimus); 23 (ætatem habet); xi. 3; 25, 26 (etiamsi...credit in me); xii. 16 (tunc recordati...de eo); 34 (quis...hominis); xv. 16 (fructum afferatis et);

22–24 (nunc autem...haberent); xvi. 17, 18 (et non...modicum, apparently); xx. 6; xxi. 23 (see above).

Many, but not all, of the omissions are due to homœoteleuton. It is natural to suppose that the majority of them consist of one or more complete lines of the archetype. But if so it is quite certain that the lines must have varied very much in length. All, except perhaps those at vii. 28, viii. 13, would have formed lines or groups of lines in a manuscript correctly written *per cola et commata*. In one of them (viii. 46) our manuscript is in company with Codex Bezae, where the omission is doubtless due to the cause which has been suggested.

One other reading may be mentioned in confirmation of our hypothesis. At v. 44 two clauses are inverted, namely "quomodo potestis uos credere qui gloriam ab inuicem accipitis," and "et gloriam quæ a solo est [deo] non queritis." One or other had probably been omitted in the text of archetype, and had been restored in the margin. Does then either clause make a complete line or set of lines? The reading is at once explained if they do. Evidence is hardly needed, but the witness of *d* is here no doubt true, and it is on our side—

quomodo potestis uos credere
gloriam ab inuicem accipientes
et gloriam ab unico deo
non queritis. nolite arbitrari

The point in the last line probably marks (see Harris, *Codex Bezae*, p. 241 *sqq.*) a division of lines in the archetype.

We pause now to consider somewhat more carefully the sections into which the Book of Mulling is divided in St Matthew and St Luke, and to ascertain, if we may, what conclusion may be drawn from the presence of these sections as to the history of the manuscript.

First let us remark that in many copies we have not merely the sections, but also a summary or *capitulatio* at the beginning of the Gospels, indicating their contents. Now summaries of the type found in the Book of Durrow are almost confined to old Latin manuscripts of the European family, and Vulgate texts which have a considerable Old Latin mixture.¹ Their antiquity is thus assured. We are in fact warranted in the inference that in any manuscript in which the summary occurs it has been ultimately derived from an old Latin exemplar. The text, on the other hand, may bear unmistakable signs of derivation from a Vulgate archetype. But this does not make our conclusion as to the summary less certain. It only shows that at some step of the process by which the copy under consideration came into being, a scribe had two exemplars

¹ Berger, *op. cit.*, pp. 311, 353 *sqq.*

before him, from one of which he took his text, and from the other his *capitulatio*.

In some cases we may feel fairly confident that we have before us a manuscript, not merely ultimately derived, but actually copied in this fashion from two exemplars. Take for example the Book of Durrow. In this manuscript we have a summary. The text on the other hand is so slightly mixed that we may feel sure that it was transcribed or derived from a Vulgate. To increase our assurance we note the fact that in the body of the text the division into paragraphs does not agree with the *capitula*. But there is something more. The numbers of the *capitula* are in many cases entered in the margin, and copied in such a way that it is frequently difficult to discover the exact point at which the section indicated by a number was supposed to begin.¹ We may conclude that these numbers were taken, not from the copy which furnished the text, but from that which supplied the summary: and we are thus brought by another route to the opinion to which the consideration of the evangelical symbols has already led us, that the scribe of the Book of Durrow had before him two manuscripts, a Vulgate, from which he transcribed his text, and an Old Latin copy, from which he took the summary, the numbers just mentioned, and his conception of the symbols of the Evangelists.

This supposition is confirmed by another consideration. The summaries of St Matthew and St Mark in this codex precede the Gospels. Those of St Luke and St John are written (apparently in a different hand) after St John.² How did this come about? We can only guess, but our guess seems to have some likelihood of being correct. It is this. The summaries preceded the Gospels in the Old Latin exemplar from which they were copied, and came in the order : St Matthew, St John, St Luke, St Mark. The Durrow scribe wished to bring the order into conformity with that of his Vulgate "arguments" and Gospels. After transcribing the summary of St Matthew he therefore turned over to St Mark. This finished he had come to the end of the preliminary matter in his pre-hieronymian exemplar, and so, forgetting that he had omitted two of the summaries, he laid it aside and went on with his Vulgate copy. It may be said that this indicated great stupidity on his part, but we have many proofs that the scribe of the Book of Durrow was singularly wanting in intelligence.³ His error was subsequently observed by another, who repaired it as best he could by writing the *capitulatio* of St Luke and St John at the end of the Gospels.

Turning now from the summary to the sections themselves we come to something which is of even more venerable antiquity. The sections are not only found in Old Latin texts: their origin can be traced to a Greek source. They are nearly identical with those of

¹ Abbott, *Evang. Vers.*, p. v.

² Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. xxvi.

³ Abbott in *Hermathena*, viii. 200; *Evang. Vers. Anteh.*, p. xx, sq.

the Codex Vaticanus (B), the oldest copy of the original text of the Gospels in existence. Wherever then we find these divisions not merely marked in the margin of a Latin Gospel, but actually imbedded in its text, we may be assured that it is ultimately descended from a copy of an Old Latin version, however far removed its present text may be from the Old Latin type.

To apply all this to our book. The Gospels of St Matthew and St Luke are divided into the ancient sections, the marginal numbers having disappeared. These Gospels therefore have been derived from a manuscript of the Old Latin. The present text, indeed, as we shall see hereafter, is not for the most part pre-hieronymian. It must, therefore, in the course of time, have taken into itself many Vulgate readings. St Mark, on the other hand, is divided into Eusebian sections ; and the preliminary matter is, so far as it remains, such as properly belongs to Jerome's Version. The text therefore of the second Gospel and of the first volumen is derived in the long run from one or more¹ Vulgate manuscripts. While finally St John, with neither system of division, gives no indication of the ultimate source from which it was taken. But as one of its ancestors was written *per cola et commata*, and as the other Gospels bear no trace of this arrangement, it was probably ultimately derived from an exemplar different from that of the other parts of the book. Our conclusion is that the Book of Mulling, or one of its immediate ancestors, was compiled from at least two, probably from a greater number of separate exemplars.

¹ It appears more likely that St Mark and the preliminary matter were derived from different archetypes. For it will be argued hereafter (p. 71 *sqq.*) that the marginal numbers which appear in the former were copied from the same manuscript as the Eusebian Canons. But the divisions indicated by the numerals not seldom differ from those implied by the paragraphs of the text itself. Sections, for example, indicated by marginal signatures, begin without capitals at Mar. ii. 23, vi. 46, viii. 32 (Et adpræhendens), ix. 43, xiv. 36. At iii. 7 the number is placed opposite the beginning of the verse, while the second "Et" is written in the margin ; numbers are assigned to viii. 30, x. 28, xii. 28, xiv. 38, xiv. 64 (quid), while the corresponding capitals are found at viii. 29 (Respondens), x. 29, xii. 22, xiv. 37, xiv. 63 (Quid) respectively. Other instances might be added, but these may suffice.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BIBLICAL TEXT.

THE purpose of this chapter is to direct attention to two portions of the text of the Synoptic Gospels preserved in the Book of Mulling, which appear to be in themselves of considerable interest, and to have some bearing on the history of the manuscript, and on that of the Irish recension of the Latin Bible.

§ 1. *Corrections.*

It is necessary, however, by way of preface, to notice one of the palæographical features of the manuscript. It will be at once perceived by any one who inspects it, that the hand of a corrector has been busy on its pages. Corrections, it is true, are in some places much more frequent than in others; but there is scarcely a page in the entire book which is altogether free from them.

The existence of a large number of these corrections is easily explained. The manuscript, as originally written, was not supplied with the numbers in the margin referring to the so-called Ammonian Sections and Eusebian Canons. The Gospels of St Matthew and St Luke, moreover, were divided into paragraphs, which, whatever may have been their origin, certainly had no relation to these sections. When, therefore, the numbers were subsequently added, an attempt was made to indicate the exact point at which each section began. This was effected in various ways. Usually the end of a section was denoted by a punctuation mark, resembling a colon followed by a comma (:,). The following word was sometimes marked with the sign $\text{f}.$, and a similar sign was placed over the corresponding number in the margin (*e.g.* Mark viii. 30, f. 43 *v b*). More commonly, however, the first letter or two of the section were altered in such a way as to make them more prominent. Sometimes they were simply re-traced, as we may see, for example, in line 15 of the second column of f. 48 *r*.¹ At other times they were re-written in a larger character. Examples of this may be found in line 8, where the sign for 'et' (ঁ) has been transformed into G_v , and line 23 of col. a, where, in the space occupied by *e*, the letter *e* has been written, the original letter being left otherwise unaltered. Occasionally, when the first word of a section happened to be also the first word of a line, the scribe has placed one or more dots under it,

¹ A facsimile reproduction of this page will be found facing the title page.

re-writing the same word in the margin (f. 46 *r b*, ll. 3, 23). But not infrequently he has actually erased the original word and written it afresh, either in the margin (as in f. 48 *r*, col. a, l. 36), or in the space occupied by the erasure, or partly in one, partly in the other (f. 46 *r a*, ll. 15, 16). This is frequently done when it is desired that a section should begin with the first word of a line, where the original writing does not admit of its doing so. In this case the last word or two of the previous section are also erased, and transferred to the right margin opposite the preceding line. In such cases as those last mentioned, we can, of course, usually have no absolute certainty as to the original reading of the manuscript; but obviously we have no right to assume, in the absence of indications pointing in that direction, that it differed from that which the corrector has put in its room.

But besides the corrections made with the object of adapting the manuscript to the division into sections, there are very many others the purpose of which is undoubtedly to change the reading. Much the same methods are used in this as in the former case. A word has a dot placed under each of its letters, and that which is to be substituted for it is written above it (f. 48 *r a*, l. 20) or in the margin; a word to be omitted is marked with a group of three dots above it, or with single dots above or below, or in both positions (f. 48 *r a*, ll. 25, 36); and in the case of a whole sentence so dealt with, a punctuation mark precedes and follows the omitted portion, and a wave line is drawn down the margin (f. 46 *r a*, ll. 29–31); a word to be supplied is written above the line or in the margin, with a mark indicating its place in the text (f. 46 *r b*, ll. 20, 35; f. 48 *r b*, l. 23); or, finally, a word is erased, and the resulting space is either left blank, or something else written in it (e.g. f. 48 *r a*, l. 30, where *ū=uerō* is written over a partially erased *h=hautem*, f. 48 *r b*, l. 20). Where we find a word written over an erasure not at the beginning or end of a section we are plainly warranted in the inference that the displaced word of the original text was different, and we can often conjecture with high probability what the original word actually was.

§ 2. General Character of the Text.

It is now our task to make an attempt to ascertain the general character of the text of the Gospels in the Book of Mulling as originally written (which we shall henceforth designate by the letter μ). This we shall most easily do by collating a few passages with the Codex Amiatinus (A). In parallel columns with the collation of these selected portions of μ , we shall place, for comparison, collations of the same passages as they are found in three other Irish manuscripts. We take first the Book of Durrow (*Durmach*), which may be regarded as the ancient Celtic manuscript of

the Gospels which approaches most nearly to the ordinary Vulgate text. The Book of Kells (Q) is a good example of the usual type of Irish text,—having a Vulgate base, but with a large contingent of old Latin readings. While, as an example of pre-hieronymian Irish texts, we give in the fourth column the readings of Codex Usserianus (r_1). This manuscript is in a fragmentary state, and by this circumstance I have been mainly guided in selecting the passages to be collated. It is essential that all four texts should be approximately complete in the passages presented, and I have therefore chosen those places in which the Codex Usserianus is practically intact for at least two or three consecutive verses.

No complete collation or edition of the Book of Mulling has been published. The text of the Codex Usserianus has been printed by Professor Abbott, with collations of the Books of Kells and Durrow and another manuscript (r_2), which will be referred to lower down. I have re-collated all these texts, so far as it appeared necessary for my purpose, and where the reading of any of the manuscripts differs, in my judgment, from that given by Dr Abbott, I have indicated this fact by inserting the letters 'ms.' in brackets after the reading in question. Mere differences of spelling I have neglected, but a few readings which might perhaps have been included under this description I have retained, marking them, however, with an obelus (†), and building no argument upon them. Readings in which μ and r_1 agree are indicated by asterisks (*).

A 1.

LIBER MULLING.	CODEX DURMACHENSIS.	CODEX KENANENSIS.	CODEX USSERIANUS (r ₁).
Matt. xxi.			
22.			
23.			
24.	aut <i>pro</i> et <i>tert.</i> (ms.).	eis <i>pro illis.</i>	<i>om.</i> docentem.
* dicite' mihi quem si dixeritis mihi <i>pro</i> quem si dix- eritis mihi.			uerbum <i>pro</i> sermonem. * q[ue]uem dicit[e] mihi <i>pro</i> quem si d. m.
25.			[fui]t <i>pro</i> erat. de caelo <i>pro</i> e caelo.
† intra <i>pro</i> inter.		† intra <i>pro</i> inter.	illi autem <i>pro</i> at illi.

A 2.

Marc. vii.			
29.		illi+iesus.	dix[it] <i>pro</i> ait. iesus <i>pro</i> illi (<i>vel</i> illi +iesus).
30. abisset+ad.	abisset+ad.	sermonem hunc <i>pro</i> hunc ser.	uade propter hunc ser- monem <i>pro</i> p. h. s. uade.
† super <i>pro</i> supra.		abisset+ad.	a <i>pro</i> de. uen[is]set <i>pro</i> abisset. <i>om.</i> suam.
31.		Tyri+et. † medicos <i>pro</i> me- dios (ms.).	
32. deprecabantur <i>pro</i> deprecantur.		inponant <i>pro</i> in- ponat.	adferunt <i>pro</i> adducunt. depraecantes <i>pro</i> et deprecantur. inponeret <i>pro</i> inponat.
33.		deorsum <i>pro</i> seor- sum.	ei <i>pro</i> illi. suscip[ej]ns <i>pro</i> adpre- hendens.
Marc. viii.		auriculas+eius.	conspuens [mi]sit digi- tos suos in auriculas eius et <i>pro</i> misit d. s. in a. et expuens.
2. hanc turbam <i>pro</i> turba.	† turbam <i>pro</i> turba. † traditio <i>pro</i> tri- duo.	turbam istam <i>pro</i> turba.	istam turbam <i>pro</i> turba. quoniam <i>pro</i> quia. <i>om.</i> ecce. triduum iam <i>pro</i> iam triduo. est ex quo hic sunt <i>pro</i> sustinent me.

A 2—*continued.*

LIBER MULLING.	CODEX DURMACHENSIS.	CODEX KENANENSIS.	CODEX USSERIANUS (r ₁).
Marc. viii. 3.		domus suas <i>pro</i> domum suam. quia quidam <i>pro</i> quidam enim.	dimittere <i>pro</i> si dimisero. <i>om.</i> suam. nollo ne fatigentur <i>pro</i> deficient. quoniam quidem et aliqui <i>pro</i> quidam enim. his <i>pro</i> eis.
4. respondentes <i>pro</i> responderunt.			sui+dicentes. quis p[os]sit <i>pro</i> poterit quis. <i>om.</i> hic.
5. † interrogabit <i>pro</i> interrogavit.	† quod (ms.) pro quot.	dixerunt+ei (ms.).	† quod <i>pro</i> quot.

A 3.

Luc. iii. 19. 20.			faciebat <i>pro</i> fecit. et adiecit <i>pro</i> adiecit et. *† super <i>pro</i> supra.
*† super <i>pro</i> supra. <i>om.</i> et sec.	<i>om.</i> et sec.	<i>om.</i> et sec.	
† carcerem <i>pro</i> carcerem.	† carcerem <i>pro</i> carcerem (ms.).	† carcerem <i>pro</i> carcerem.	baptizatus esset <i>pro</i> baptizaretur. populus+ab iohanne. eumque et iesus baptizatus esset <i>pro</i> et iesu baptizato. +ab eo ante et sec. orante+ipso. aperti sunt caeli <i>pro</i> apertum est caelum. quasi <i>pro</i> sicut.
21.			eum <i>pro</i> ipsum. filius meus es tu <i>pro</i> tu es f. m. <i>om.</i> dilectus. ego hodie genui te <i>pro</i> in te complacuit mihi. qui* putabatur <i>pro</i> ut putaretur.
22.		† columbam <i>pro</i> columba.	
te+bene.	te+bene.	te+bene (ms.).	
23. * putabatur <i>pro</i> putaretur.	putabatur <i>pro</i> putaretur.	putabatur <i>pro</i> putaretur.	

A 3—*continued.*

LIBER MULLING.	CODEX DURMACHENSIS.	CODEX KENANENSIS.	CODEX USSERIANUS (r1).
Luc. xv.			
5. * eam <i>pro</i> illam. *† imponet <i>pro</i> imponit.			* eam <i>pro</i> illam. *† imponet <i>pro</i> imponit.
* super <i>pro</i> in. cum gaudio <i>pro</i> gaudens.			inp.+eam. * super <i>pro</i> in.
6. <i>om.</i> et. domui <i>pro</i> domum.	gratulamini <i>pro</i> congrat.	uicinos+suos.	amicos+suos.
7. dico+autem. <i>(hiat μ.)</i>	unum peccatorem <i>pro</i> uno peccatore.	dico+autem. unum peccatorem <i>pro</i> uno peccatore.	quod <i>pro</i> quia. inuenierim <i>pro</i> inueni. in <i>pro</i> super.
<i>(hiat μ.)</i>	† habentem <i>pro</i> habente.	† habentem <i>pro</i> habente.	agente <i>pro</i> habente.
<i>(hiat μ.)</i>	istos <i>pro</i> iustis.	iustos <i>pro</i> iustis.	iustos <i>pro</i> iustis. egent <i>pro</i> indigent.
8. <i>(hiat μ.)</i>	† paenitentiam <i>pro</i> paenitentia.	† penitentiam <i>pro</i> paenitentia.	quae+est. decem+et. <i>om.</i> dragmam. scopis mundat <i>pro</i> euertit.
domum+suam.	uerit <i>pro</i> euertit.	uerit <i>pro</i> euertit. domum+suam.	inueniat+eam.
9.		amicos et uicinos <i>(ms.)</i> <i>pro</i> amicas et uicinas.	quod <i>pro</i> quia. inuenierim <i>pro</i> inueni.

A 4.

Joh. i.			
16. † accipimus.	acc.+et (<i>ms.</i>).	† accipimus (<i>ms.</i>). acc.+et (<i>ms.</i>).	quoniam <i>pro</i> et.
17. <i>(hiat μ.)</i> * gratia+autem.			quoniam <i>pro</i> quia. * gratia+autem.
18. * umquam+nisi.		umquam + nisi <i>(ms.).</i> hoc+est.	* umquam+nisi.
19. * hoc+est. miserunt+ei. <i>om.</i> ad eum.	hoc+est.		* hoc+[es]t. cum miserent <i>pro</i> quando miserunt. illum <i>pro</i> eum pri. eum sec.+dicentes.

A 4—*continued.*

LIBER MULLING.	CODEX DURMACHENSIS.	CODEX KENANENSIS.	CODEX USSERIANUS (r ₁).
20. Joh. i. <i>om. et confessus est sec.</i>			<i>om. et tert.</i> [eg]o non sum <i>pro</i> non sum ego.
21. eum+*iterum' tu. dixit <i>pro</i> dicit.			* eum+it[erum]. dicentes <i>pro</i> quid ergo. <i>om. et sec.</i> ait <i>pro</i> dicit. sum+numquid. <i>om. et tert.</i> +et ad init. (dixerunt [ms.] = Am.) <i>om. ei.</i> es+tu. nos miserunt <i>pro</i> misserunt nos. +qu[i ei]s ad init.
22.			
es+dic nobis.			
23. <i>om. ego.</i>	essaias profeta dixit (ms.) <i>pro</i> dixit e. p.	<i>ergo pro</i> ego.	
24. aff <i>pro</i> erant.	<i>om. erant.</i>	<i>om. erant.</i>	<i>om. erant.</i> a pro ex. iudeis <i>pro</i> pharisaeis. ut interrogarent <i>pro</i> et interrogauerunt. (hiat r ₁ .) * +ei ante quid.
25. <i>om. et (sed spat. relict.). illum pro eum.</i> * +ei ante quid.	+ei(ms.) <i>ante quid.</i>	+ei <i>ante quid.</i>	* au[tem] <i>pro</i> enim. monumentum <i>pro</i> castellum.
Joh. xi. 30. * hautem <i>pro</i> enim. hic <i>pro</i> erat adhuc.	autem (ms.) <i>pro</i> enim.		eo <i>pro</i> illo. quo <i>pro</i> ubi. obuiauerat (ms.) <i>pro</i> occurrerat. [a]utem <i>pro</i> igitur. * ea <i>pro</i> illa.
31. * ea <i>pro</i> illa. ut consulentur <i>pro</i> et consolabantur.	ea (ms.) <i>pro</i> illa.	ea <i>pro</i> illa. om. quia pri.	ut uiderunt <i>pro</i> cum uidissent. quod <i>pro</i> quia pri. festina[n]t[er] <i>pro</i> cito. surrexisset <i>pro</i> surrexit. om. et exiit. subsecuti <i>pro</i> seuti. quoniam <i>pro</i> quia. * autem <i>pro</i> ergo. et uidisset <i>pro</i> uidens. procidit <i>pro</i> cecidit. dicens <i>pro</i> et dixit. <i>om. ei.</i> * fuissest <i>pro</i> esset.
† exit <i>pro</i> exiit.			
32. * hautem <i>pro</i> ergo. uidisset <i>pro</i> uenisset. dicit <i>pro</i> et dixit.	uero <i>pro</i> ergo.	uero <i>pro</i> ergo.	
*fuissest' frater meus mortuus <i>pro</i> es- set m. f. meus.			

A 4—*continued.*

LIBER MULLING.	CODEX DURMACHENSIS.	CODEX KENANENSIS.	CODEX USSERIANUS (<i>r</i> ₁).
Joh. xi. 33. <i>om. ergo.</i> uidisset <i>pro</i> uidit.		uero <i>pro</i> ergo.	autem <i>pro</i> ergo.
fremit <i>pro</i> fremuit.	+ turbabit (<i>ms.</i>) <i>pro</i> turbauit.	infremuit <i>pro</i> fre- muit. semet (<i>ms.</i>) <i>pro</i> se.	flientem <i>pro</i> plorantem. fientes qui uenerant cum ea <i>pro</i> qui u. cum e. plorantes. infremuit <i>pro</i> fremuit. + in ante spiritu.
34.	dixerunt+ergo.	dixerunt+ergo.	dixerunt+autem. illum <i>pro</i> eum. eis <i>pro</i> ipsis.
35.			
36. +et ad init. : dixerunt+ergo.		eis <i>pro</i> ipsis.	ne hic <i>pro</i> ut et hic non. autem <i>pro</i> ergo.
37.	om et.		<i>om.</i> rursum. intra semet ipsum <i>pro</i> in semet ipso.
38. † rursus <i>pro</i> rursum.			
autem+quasi.	† lapis <i>pro</i> lapis.		

A mere glance over these four collations will enable us, so far as they go, to form a tolerably correct notion of the characters of the texts represented by them. *Durmach* approaches very closely to A, the best manuscript of the Vulgate: *r*₁ widely diverges therefrom. Midway between these two come *μ* and Q. And when we actually count the variants, this general impression is confirmed. The second column gives us 18 variants of *Durmach*; the fourth, 120 of *r*₁; while the first and third give respectively 43 (perhaps one or two more) of *μ*, and 37 of Q. The text of *μ* is therefore in these passages of the same general type as that of Q. It would, of course, be more than rash to make any inference as to the text of the entire manuscript from a few cases taken at random. But after working through a large part of the text I see no reason to alter the conclusion to which these passages appear to lead. In every chapter which I have tested—with certain exceptions to which I shall ask attention immediately—the result has been the same. The numbers of various readings in *μ* and Q are almost the same; the preponderance, when it exists, being for the most part on the side of *μ*. In St Mark the amount of variation from the Amiatine text in *μ* is perhaps less than elsewhere, in St John greater.

§ 3. *The Old Latin Passages.*

I now come to deal with the exceptions just mentioned. They occur in the latter chapters of St Matthew and the earlier of St Luke. Following the same method as before, I append collations of a few passages.

B 1.

LIBER MULLING.	CODEX DURMACHENSISS.	CODEX KENANENSIS.	CODEX USSERIANUS (r_1).
Matt. xxiv.			
16. * in <i>pro</i> ad.			* [fugia]nt (<i>ms.</i>) in <i>pro</i> f. ad.
17. * tecto + sunt. * discendent <i>pro</i> de- scendat. † domu <i>pro</i> domo.			* tecto + sunt. * [descendant] <i>pro</i> de- scendat.
18. * agro + erit.			* agro + erit.
19. * † pregnantibus <i>pro</i> praegnatibus.	† praegnantibus <i>pro</i> praegnat.	† praegnantibus <i>pro</i> praegnat.	* † praegn[atus] <i>pro</i> praegnat. [u]e <i>pro</i> ut non. <i>om.</i> tunc.
20.			
21. * saeculi <i>pro</i> mundi.	† fiat <i>pro</i> fiat (<i>ms.</i>). (fiat = A.[<i>ms.</i>]).		* saeculi <i>pro</i> mundi.
22. † brebiati <i>pro</i> brev. † flerit <i>pro</i> fieret. † bræbiabuntur <i>pro</i> breviabuntur.			<i>om.</i> illi.
23.			
24. * exurgent <i>pro</i> sur- gent.		om. ut.	
inducant <i>pro</i> indu- cantur. electos <i>pro</i> electi.		† induantur <i>pro</i> in- ducantur.	
26. † penitribilibus <i>pro</i> penetalibus. credere <i>pro</i> exire.	† penitribilibus <i>pro</i> penetalibus (<i>ms.</i>).	† penitribilibus <i>pro</i> penetalibus.	
27.	ergo <i>pro</i> enim.	† exiit <i>pro</i> exit. apparet <i>pro</i> pareat.	(hiat r_1 .)
* ad <i>pro</i> in. <i>om.</i> et sec.		<i>om.</i> et sec.	* ad <i>pro</i> in.
28. † illuc <i>pro</i> illuc. aquila + et.		† +ali ante aquilae (<i>ms.</i>).	(hiat r_1 .)
29. + et <i>ad</i> init. eorum <i>pro</i> illorum.	obscurabuntur (<i>ms.</i>) <i>pro</i> ob- scuraribut.		
eorum <i>pro</i> caelo- rum.			

B 1—*continued.*

LIBER MULLING.	CODEX DURMACHENSIS.	CODEX KENANENSIS.	CODEX USSERIANUS (r ₁).
Matt. xxiv. 30. * apparebit <i>pro</i> par. † fili <i>pro</i> filii. plangent+se.	apparebit <i>pro</i> par.	apparebit <i>pro</i> par. plangent (<i>ms.</i>) super se <i>pro</i> plangent. † nubus (<i>ms.</i>) <i>pro</i> nubibus.	* apparebit <i>pro</i> par. lamentabun[t] <i>pro</i> plangent.
31. † mittit <i>pro</i> mittet.		suos <i>pro</i> eius. uentis+et.	congrega[n]tur (?) <i>pro</i> congregabant.
* angulis uentorum <i>pro</i> uentis. summo <i>pro</i> sum- mis			* angulis uent[ō]rum <i>pro</i> uentis.
* ad fin. vers.+cum coopererent (<i>sic</i>) haec fieri respi- cete et leuate ca- put quoniam ad- propeat redemp- tio uestra.			summa[a] illorum <i>pro</i> terminos eorum. * ad fin. vers.+cum coe- perint autem haec fie[ri r]espicitae et leuate caput quia adpr[opinquet] re- demptio uestra.
Matt. xxvi. 24. Ad init. vers.+et. tradetur <i>pro</i> uudit. <i>om.</i> de illo. † tradetur <i>pro</i> tradi- tetur. * non nasci homini illi <i>pro</i> ei si na- tus non fuisset homo ille.	hominis quidem (<i>ms.</i>) <i>pro</i> qui- dem hominis.	Ad init. vers.+et. eo <i>pro</i> illo. † tradetur <i>pro</i> tra- ditur. om. ei.	(hiat r ₁ .) † uadet <i>pro</i> uudit. eo <i>pro</i> illo. *† tradetur <i>pro</i> traditetur. * non nasci homini illi <i>pro</i> ei si natus non fuisset homo ille.
25. * traditurus eum erat <i>pro</i> tradidit eum.		respondit <i>pro</i> re- spondens.	iudas+scarioth.
* illi+iesus. 26. * ipsis hautem man- ducentibus <i>pro</i> cenantibus au- tem eis. † accipit <i>pro</i> accepit. <i>om.</i> et pri. et <i>pro</i> ac. et dedit <i>pro</i> dedit- que. * dicens <i>pro</i> et ait. * manducate <i>pro</i> comedite * est+enim.		traditurus erat eum <i>pro</i> tradi- dit eum. eum+et. dixit+el. illi+iesus.	* tr[adi]turus eum erat <i>pro</i> tradidit eum. * illi+iesus. * ipsis autem mandu- can[t]ibus <i>pro</i> cen- antibus autem eis. † accipit <i>pro</i> accepit. dicens <i>pro</i> et ait. edit ex hoc omnes <i>pro</i> et comedite. est+enim: ad fin. vers.+quod confringitur pro saeculi vita.
			* dicens <i>pro</i> et ait. * ma[ndu]cate <i>pro</i> co- medite. * est+enim.

B 1—*continued.*

LIBER MULLING.	CODEX DURMACHENSIS.	CODEX KENANENSIS.	CODEX USSERIANUS (r.).
Matt. xxvi. 27. † bibete pro bibite. 28.	† effundetur (ms.) pro effunditur.	effundetur pro uobis et promul- tis pro mul- tis effunditur.	† effundetur pro effun- ditur.
*† remissione pro re- missionem. 29. * uobis+quia.	† remissione(ms.)pro remissionem.	uobis+quia. † gemine (ms.) pro genimine.	*† remissione (ms.) pro remissionem. * uobis+quia. ac creatura pro hoc genimine.
diem illum cum illud pro diem cum illum. 30. 31.	diem illum cum illum pro diem cum illum.	diem illum quo illud pro diem cum illum.	illud diem cum illud pro diem cum illum. <i>om. illis.</i> (ista=A[ms.].)
Matt. xxvii. 20.	principes pro prin- ceps.	principes pro prin- ceps.	principes pro princeps.
* populo pro populis. hautein pro uero. 21. * de duobus dimittam uobis pro uobis de duobus dimitti.	om. uobis (ms.).	dimittam pro di- mitti.	* populo pro populis. autem pro uero. *[d]e duobus uobis di- mittam pro uobis de duobus dimitti.
22. † qui pro quid. * ergo pro igitur.			* ergo pro igitur. fa[ciā]mus pro faciam. <i>om. de.</i>
23. <i>om. illis.</i> pilatus pro praeses.	† praessit (ms.) pro praeses. om. magis (ms.).	clamauerunt pro clamabant.	<i>om. dicentes.</i> se nihil [pr]oficeret pro quia n. proficeret. tumultum fieri pro tumultus fieret. [ac]cepit aquam pro accepta aqua.
24. proficit pro pro- ficeret. † fierit pro fieret. fier.+in populo.			* manus+suas.
† lauanuit pro lauuit. * manus+suas. dicens coram po- pulo pro coram p. d.			sum ego pro ego sum. * <i>om. iusti (e spat.).</i>
* <i>om. iusti.</i> 25.		coram+omni.	omnis turba pro uni- uersus populus. * huius pro eius.
* huius pro eius. 26.		ego innocens pro innoc. ego. respondit pro re- spondens. uestros pro nostros. uero pro autem.	flagellis caesum pro flagellatum. * eum crucifigerent pro crucifigeretur.
eum crucifigeret pro crucifigeretur.			

B 1—*continued.*

LIBER MULLING.	CODEX DURMACHENSIS.	CODEX KENANENSIS.	CODEX USSERIANUS (r ₁).
Matt. xxvii. 27. * duxerunt <i>pro</i> suscipientes. * praetorium <i>pro</i> praetorio. * præt.+et.			* duxerunt <i>pro</i> suscipientes. * praet[orium] <i>pro</i> praetorio. * præt.+[et].

B 2.

Luc. v.			
6. ut <i>pro</i> cum. multitudinem pis- cium <i>pro</i> pis. m. * ita ut rumperentur <i>pro</i> rumpebatur autem. * retia <i>pro</i> rete. 7. tunc <i>pro</i> et pri. * sociis+suis. qui cum <i>pro</i> et tert. <i>om.</i> et quart. * repleberunt <i>pro</i> impleteuerunt.		ita ut rumpeba- tur hautem <i>pro</i> rump. autem.	* ita ut ru[m]perentur <i>pro</i> rump. autem. * retia <i>pro</i> rete. innuerunt <i>pro</i> annu. * sociis+suis.
8. hoc uiso <i>pro</i> quod cum uideret. * <i>om.</i> Petrus. † procedit <i>pro</i> pro- cedit. * dicens+rogo te.		uidisset <i>pro</i> uideret. † procedit <i>pro</i> pro- cedit. me+domine. <i>om.</i> domine.	* repleuerunt <i>pro</i> impl. ut sec. +paene. uidisset <i>pro</i> uideret. * <i>om.</i> Petrus. * dicens+rogo te. quoniam <i>pro</i> quia.
9. * timor <i>pro</i> stupor. * inuasserat <i>pro</i> cir- cumdecerat. * illum <i>pro</i> eum.			* timor <i>pro</i> stupor. * inuaserat <i>pro</i> circum- decerat. * illum <i>pro</i> eum. † capturam <i>pro</i> captura. autem+et. * dixit <i>pro</i> ait. iesus ad simouem <i>pro</i> ad s. iesus. * eris homines <i>pro</i> hom. eris. uiuficans <i>pro</i> capiens.
10. * dixit <i>pro</i> ait. * eris homines <i>pro</i> hom. eris.			* nauiculis in terram <i>pro</i> ad t. nauibus. * eum <i>pro</i> illum.
11. * nauiculis in terram <i>pro</i> ad t. nauibus. * eum <i>pro</i> illum.			
Luc. viii.			
10. ait <i>pro</i> dixit. scire <i>pro</i> nosse. autem + non est datum sed. similitudinibus <i>pro</i> parabolis.			

B 2—*continued.*

LIBER MULLING.	CODEX DURMACHENSIS.	CODEX KENANENSIS.	CODEX USSERIANUS (r.).
Luc. viii.			
11. hæc est haudem <i>pro</i> est autem haec. * similitudo <i>pro</i> pa- rabola.	autem+uerbum.		haec autem <i>pro</i> est autem haec. * similitudo <i>pro</i> para- bola. +qui seminat est filius hominis <i>ante</i> semen. semen+autem.
12. quod <i>pro</i> qui. autem+cecidit. * hi sunt <i>pro</i> sunt hi. audiunt+uerbum. uenit hautem <i>pro</i> deinde uen. tulit <i>pro</i> tollit. * de corde eorum uerbum <i>pro</i> u. de c. eorum.		tulit <i>pro</i> tollit.	uiam+seminati sunt. * hi sunt <i>pro</i> sunt hi. audiunt+* uerbum' in cordibus suis.
13. petrosam <i>pro</i> pet- ram. * +hi sunt <i>ante</i> qui. audiunt <i>pro</i> audi- erint. * +uerbum <i>ante</i> cum sec. * accipiunt <i>pro</i> susc. * illud <i>pro</i> uerbum. non habent * radic- es <i>pro</i> radicem non h. *† quia <i>pro</i> qui.	accipiunt (<i>ms.</i>) <i>pro</i> susc.	accipiunt <i>pro</i> susc.	* de corde illorum uer- bum <i>pro</i> u. de c. eorum. uti ne credant et <i>pro</i> ne credentes. qui autem <i>pro</i> nam qui.
14. audient <i>pro</i> audi- erunt. per sollicitudinem <i>pro</i> sollicitudini- bus. dinitiarum <i>pro</i> et dinitiis. dulcidinis <i>pro</i> uol- uptatibus. * om. euntes. * adferunt <i>pro</i> refer- unt.	a sollicitudinibus (<i>ms.</i>) <i>pro</i> soll. uoluntatibus (<i>ms.</i>) <i>pro</i> uolupt.	a sollicitudinibus <i>pro</i> soll.	* petram+seminati sunt. * +hi sunt <i>ante</i> qui. * + uerbum <i>ante</i> cum sec. * accipiunt <i>pro</i> susc. * illud <i>pro</i> uerbum. ipsi <i>pro</i> hi. * radices <i>pro</i> radicem. *† quia <i>pro</i> qui. (et in tempore tempta- tionis recedunt=A [<i>ms.</i> .]) cum audierint <i>pro</i> audi- erunt. aud.+uerbum. om. et pri. in sollicitudinibus <i>pro</i> soll. * om. euntes. * adferent <i>pro</i> referunt.

A cursory inspection of these collations reveals immediately a remarkable difference between them and those with which we were previously occupied. Two facts at once strike us. The column which stands in closest relation to the first is no longer the third, but the fourth; and the number of asterisks in the first and fourth columns in proportion to the total number of readings has increased. Once more our first impression is borne out by a count. The number of various readings recorded for μ is 95, for r_1 99, for *Durm* 16, for Q 39. And of the 95 variants in μ and 99 in r_1 , 51, or more than half, are marked with an asterisk. This suggests that the part of μ with which we are now concerned has a text substantially Old Latin with Vulgate mixture, rather than, as the remainder, a text substantially Vulgate with Old Latin readings. The relative number of variants in *Durm*, Q, and r_1 has not materially changed, while that in μ has been almost trebled. Again, the number of asterisks has advanced from 14 in 43, to 51 in 95. This is what we might expect to find if the text before us is really Old Latin. For the variations of any Irish Biblical codex from the Vulgate fall into two classes—errors of transcription and Old Latin readings. The number of the former would be about equal in two copies written under similar conditions; the latter will of course vary in proportion to the remoteness of the manuscript from the Old Latin type. Assuming, therefore, that there was one Old Latin recension in Ireland, the number of agreements in variation from the Vulgate between any two copies of that recension will be greater in proportion to the whole number of variations than between two manuscripts, one of which is mainly Vulgate and the other mainly Old Latin.

Now the passages of μ which have just been collated with A do not stand alone. The same test applied to the two passages, extending—to speak roughly—from the middle of St Matthew xxiv. to near the end of the Gospel, and in St Luke from the beginning of chap. iv. almost to the end of chap. ix., brings to light exactly similar phenomena. The text of these two passages is absolutely different in type from that which appears throughout the remainder of the Synoptic Gospels. It is essentially Old Latin.

It is naturally difficult to determine, within a verse or two, the exact points at which these Old Latin portions of our Book begin and end. It can be done, however, with more precision than might have been anticipated, as my third series of collations will demonstrate.

C 1.

LIBER MULLING.	CODEX DURMACHENSIS.	CODEX KENANENSIS.	CODEX USSERIANUS (r ₁).
Matt. xxiv.			
1. accesserunt + ad eum. aedificationem pro aedificationes.		accesserunt + ad eum. aedificationem pro aedificationes.	structuram pro aedificationes.
2. illis pro eis.	illis (ms.) pro eis.	illis pro eis.	[e]jis dixit pro dixit eis. om. hic. om. eo.
3.			in monte pro super montem.
4.		discipuli+eius.	discipuli+eius.
5.			(hiat usque -educat r ₁ .) (hiat usque meo et a christus usque -ent r ₁ .)
6. dicentes+quia. * audietis, hautem pro audituri enim estis.	autem (ms.) pro enim.	audietis enim pro audituri enim estis.	* audietis enim pro audituri enim estis.
7.		contra (ms.) pro in sec.	pugn[as] pro proelia. proeliorum+sed. exsurgit pro consurget. contra pro in (bis).
8.	enim pro autem.		om. pestilentiae et. [omnia] haec pro haec autem omnia.
9. † tribulationem pro tribulatione.	† tribulationem pro tribulatione.	† tribulationem pro tribulatione.	* inuicem pri+se.
10. * inuicem pri+se.		inuicem pri+se.	occid[ent . .] pro odio habebunt.
11. insurgent pro surgent.		insurgent(ms.) pro surgent.	exsur[gent] pro surgent.
12. iniquitas+et. *† refrigerescet (sic) pro refrigerescet.	† refrigeret (ms. p. m.) pro refrigerescet.		multos seducent pro sed. mult. quia pro quoniam.
13. permanerit pro perseuerauerit.	permanerit pro perseuerauerit.	permanerit pro perseuerauerit.	*† refrigerescit pro refrigerescet.
14. * per totum orbem pro in uniuerso orbe.	† orbe regni in uniuerso (ms.) pro regni in uniuerso orbe.		* per totum (ms.) orbem pro in uniuerso orbe.
15. hautem pro ergo.			(hiat ab hoc usque [reg]ni et ab in sec. usque -bus et ueniet consummatio r ₁ .) (hiatusque -tum et ab st usque intellegat r ₁). [quod dictum e[st] pro quae dicta sunt. aliqua uerba omissa sunt (e spat.).
per danielum profetam pro a danielo propheta.			

Taking first the early part of St Matt. xxiv., it will probably be agreed that there is no sign of an Old Latin base up to the end of v. 11. The variants in r_1 number *at least* (see vv. 4, 5) 17, in μ only 7, in Q 8, and in *Durm* 3 ; of the seven readings in the first column, no more than two have an asterisk. Here, then, we have the ordinary mixed text. From verse 16 onwards, on the other hand, the text is Old Latin, as we have already shown. About the intervening verses it is impossible to speak with confidence. In vv. 12–14, μ has three variants as against two in r_1 ; *Durm* and Q have one each. This gives us little to go upon. It must be observed, moreover, that only a portion of v. 14 remains in r_1 ; and that in the portion that is wanting the Codex Usserianus Alter (r_2) has an important reading—"finis" for "consummatio"—while, on the other hand, the reading "permanserit" in v. 13 (μ *Durm* Q) has every appearance of being an Old Latin survival, though unsupported by either r_1 or r_2 . In v. 15 our difficulties increase : μ registers two variants, one of which is supported by r_2 ; *Durm* Q give none at all ; r_1 , in the few letters that remain, two (one of which is an inference from the insufficiency of the space to contain the words of A). On the whole, I am inclined to think that the Old Latin text begins with v. 12 ; but if not, then certainly somewhere between the end of v. 11 and the beginning of v. 16.

What seems important to observe is, that the change in the type of text takes place suddenly. There is no gradual increase of Old Latin mixture, culminating in the almost total disappearance of the Vulgate element. We may fairly conclude from the facts that if r_1 were not so fragmentary just where we need its help most, in vv. 14, 15, we could fix, within a line or two of our manuscript, the place where the Vulgate and the Old Latin texts meet.

So much, then, for the starting-place of the Old Latin text in St Matthew. Where does it end ? A collation of 25 verses of chapter xxvii. (vv. 40–64), which it would occupy too much space to print here, shows that the relation between the texts of r_1 and μ remains much the same as in the previous chapter. At the same time, however, we notice a considerable numerical increase in the variants of Q. The numbers are : readings in μ 43, in r_1 36 or more, in Q 33, in *Durm* 12, asterisks 23 or more. Our manuscript has therefore still an Old Latin text, while the Old Latin element in Q has become more marked. Let us now, therefore, collate the passage extending from xxvii. 65 to xxviii. 15, in order that we may determine, if possible, how far the Old Latin character of μ is maintained.

C 2.

LIBER MULLING.	CODEX DURMACHENSIS.	CODEX KENANENSIS.	CODEX USSERIANUS (<i>r₁</i>).
Matt. xxvii.			
65. * milites <i>pro</i> custo- diam.		milites <i>pro</i> custo- diam.	* milites <i>pro</i> custodiam. ite + et.
+ ipsi <i>ante</i> scitis. 66. om. abeuntes.		abeuntes + cum custodibus.	
* et signauerunt <i>pro</i> signantes. lapidem + et dis- cesserunt.		lapidem + et dis- cesserunt. om. cum custodi- bus.	* et signauerunt <i>pro</i> sig- nantes.
Matt. xxviii.			
1.		de caelo discendit <i>pro</i> descend. de c.	
2.		autem <i>pro</i> enim.	
3. hautem <i>pro</i> enim. * uestimenta <i>pro</i> uestimentum. * eius sec. + candida.	autem <i>pro</i> enim.	autem <i>pro</i> enim. eius sec. + candi- dum.	et erat <i>pro</i> erat enim. * uestimenta <i>pro</i> uesti- mentum. * eius sec. + [ca]ndida.
4.		uel moltui (ms.) <i>pro</i> uelut mor- tui.	a <i>pro</i> prae. sicut <i>pro</i> velut.
5.		hic+sed.	q[u]aeritis q[ui] crucifixus est <i>pro</i> qui c. est q.
6.		uenite+et (ms.).	dixerat <i>pro</i> dixit. uenite+et. (hiat ab -ocum usque ad fin. vers. r ₁ .)
* uenite+et.		uenite+et.	ite [et] <i>pro</i> euntes.
7. surrexit + a mor- tuis. <i>om.</i> ecce pri. sicut praedixit <i>pro</i> ecce praedixi.		surrexit + a mor- tuis.	(hiat ab [et] usque ad timere v. 8 r ₁ .)
8. * gaudio magno <i>pro</i> magno gaudio. * et current <i>pro</i> cur- rentes.	om. ecce praedixi ubis (ms.). gaudio magno <i>pro</i> mag. gaud.	sicut dixit <i>pro</i> ecce praedixi. gaudio magno <i>pro</i> mag. gaud.	* gaud[io magno] <i>pro</i> mag. gaud. * [et current] (ms.) <i>pro</i> currentes. (nuntiate [ms.] = A.)
9. † habete <i>pro</i> hauete. <i>om.</i> autem. accesserunt + ad eum.	† aduerunt <i>p. m.</i> <i>pro</i> ado- rauerunt.	suis <i>pro</i> eius.	† ille <i>pro</i> illae.
10. timere+sed.		timere+sed (ms.).	anplexerunt <i>pro</i> tenu- erunt.
11.	† et+et (ms.).	adnuntiauerunt (ms.) <i>pro</i> nunt.	quia praecedo uo[s] <i>pro</i> ut eant. galilacem+et.
12.			sunt <i>pro</i> fuerant. consilium acceperunt[<i>t</i>] <i>pro</i> consilio accepto. <i>om.</i> copiosam.
13. uenerunt nocte <i>pro</i> nocte uen.		edocti <i>pro</i> erant docti.	pers[uade]bimus <i>pro</i> suad. (hiat r ₁ .)
14.			
15. instructi <i>pro</i> docti.	† deuulgatum (ms.) <i>pro</i> diu.	† deuulgatum (ms.) <i>pro</i> diu.	† deuulgatum <i>pro</i> diu. hoc <i>pro</i> istud.

It will be seen at once that there is a sudden change in the relation between μ and r_1 after xxviii. 3. For xxvii. 65—xxviii. 3 the collation yields the following figures: μ 8, r_1 6, Q 7, *Durm* 1, asterisks 4. The ratio of these numbers agrees pretty closely with that of those already given for xxvii. 40—64. But for xxviii. 4—15 the result is different. Here we get μ 11, r_1 16 or more, Q 10, *Durm* 3, asterisks 3 or more. The sudden decrease in the number of readings in μ and the almost more notable disappearance of asterisks are remarkable. Our conclusion is that the Old Latin text ends with xxviii. 3. This conclusion, however, could not, with the evidence now given, be held with absolute confidence, for the proportion of the variants of μ to those of r_1 is considerably larger than in the greater part of the manuscript. This might perhaps be accounted for by the specially imperfect state of r_1 just here, or by a greater amount than usual of Vulgate mixture in its text. But to place the matter beyond doubt, let us apply another test. The Clermont manuscript in the Vatican Library (*h*) agrees more closely than any other Old Latin manuscript of St Matthew with the Irish text. We may use it, then, in place of r_1 in these verses. Now let us examine the following collations of μ , *Durm*, Q, and *h* for St Matt. xxviii. 4—20.

C 3.

LIBER MULLING.	CODEX DURMACHENSIS.	CODEX KENANENSIS.	CODEX CLAROMONTANUS (h).
Matt. xxviii.			
4.		uel moltui (<i>ms.</i>) <i>pro</i> uelut mortui.	a <i>pro</i> <i>prae</i> .
5.			quia <i>pro</i> quod.
6.			dixerat <i>pro</i> dixit.
* uenite+et.	uenite+et (<i>ms.</i>).	hic+sed. uenite+et.	* uenite+et. <i>sed pro</i> et <i>pri</i> . ite et <i>pro</i> euntes.
7.		surrexit + a mortuis.	* <i>om.</i> ecce <i>pri</i> . † praecedet <i>pro</i> praecedit. dixi <i>pro</i> praedixi.
* om. ecce <i>pri</i> .			
sicut prædictis <i>pro</i> ecce prædixi.	<i>om.</i> ecce prædicti uobis (<i>ms.</i>).	sicut dixit <i>pro</i> ecce prædixi.	
8. * gaudio magno <i>pro</i> magno gaudio. et current <i>pro</i> currentes.	gaudio magno <i>pro</i> magno gaudio.	gaudio magno <i>pro</i> magno gaudio.	* gaudio magno <i>pro</i> magno gaudio. occurrentes <i>pro</i> currentes.
9.*† habete <i>pro</i> hauete <i>om.</i> autem. accesserunt + ad eum.		suis <i>pro</i> eius.	*† habete <i>pro</i> hauete.
10. timere+sed.		timere+sed (<i>ms.</i>).	amplexauerunt <i>pro</i> tenuerunt. ite+et. quia praecedo uos <i>pro</i> ut eant.
11.	† et+et (<i>ms.</i>).		galileam+et. uidebitis <i>pro</i> videbunt. † ciuitate <i>pro</i> ciuitatem.
12.		adnuntiauerunt (<i>ms.</i>) <i>pro</i> numtiauerunt.	sunt <i>pro</i> fuerant. consilium accepérunt et <i>pro</i> consilio accepto.
13.			magnam <i>pro</i> copiosam. et dixerunt <i>pro</i> dicentes. + illis <i>ante</i> dicite.
14.	uenerunt nocte <i>pro</i> nocte uenerunt.		audierit praesis <i>pro</i> auditum fuerit a praeside.
15. * instructi <i>pro</i> docti.		edocti <i>pro</i> erant docti.	persuademus <i>pro</i> suadebimus. * instructi <i>pro</i> docti.
16.	† deuulgatum (<i>ms.</i>) <i>pro</i> diuulgatum.	† deuulgatum (<i>ms.</i>) <i>pro</i> diuulgatum. discipuli + eius (<i>ms.</i>).	hoc <i>pro</i> istud.
17.	† constituerat (<i>ms.</i>) <i>pro</i> constit.		
18.		(iesus=Am [<i>ms.</i>]).	cum uidissent <i>pro</i> uidentes.
19.		+nunc ante docete.	† est+est. <i>om.</i> ergo. * +nunc <i>ante</i> docete.
20. obseruare <i>pro</i> seruare.	<i>om.</i> amen (<i>ms.</i>).	obseruare <i>pro</i> seruare.	<i>om.</i> amen.

It is not too much to say that our inference is completely established by the foregoing table. The Codex Claromontanus yields 28 variants against 4 in *Durm*, 12 in μ and 13 in Q, while the asterisks have dwindled to five. The Old Latin fragment of St Matthew therefore begins at or a little after xxiv. 12 and ends at xxviii. 3.

Now let us turn to St Luke. That the portion upon which the genealogy immediately follows (iii. 19–23) is mixed Vulgate will be evident from the collation A 3. Omitting the genealogy, an examination of which would be valueless for our purpose, we next collate the early verses of chapter iv.

D 1.

LIBER MULLING.	CODEX DURMACHENSIS.	CODEX KENANENSIS.	CODEX USSERIANUS (r ₁).
Luc. iv.			
1. * deserto <i>pro</i> deser- tum.			repletus <i>pro</i> plenus. reuersus <i>pro</i> regressus. * deserto <i>pro</i> desertum.
2. +in <i>ad init. vers.</i>		+in <i>ad init. vers.</i>	per dies <i>pro</i> diebus. (et tem.[ms.] = A.)
* illis diebus <i>pro</i> diebus illis.			* illis diebus <i>pro</i> diebus illis. his <i>pro</i> illis sec.
† esurit <i>pro</i> esuriit.			his <i>pro</i> illis sec.
3.			+postea ante esurit. ut lapides [i]sti panes fiant <i>pro</i> lapidi huic ut panis fiat.
4. iesus+dicens.			om. et. illi <i>pro</i> ad illum.
† uiuit <i>pro</i> uiuet.		+ uiuit <i>pro</i> uiuet.	om. quia.
5. * illum+iterum. * diabolus+in mon- tem excelsum ualde. ei <i>pro</i> illi. mundi <i>pro</i> orbis terrae.		zabulus+in mon- tem excelsum (ms.).	vv. 5-8 post vv. 9-12. * illum+iterum. * diabolus+(in montem al)tiissimum.
6. ipsorum <i>pro</i> illo- rum. * uolueruo <i>pro</i> uolo.	noluero <i>pro</i> uolo.	uoluero <i>pro</i> uolo.	dixit <i>pro</i> ait. illi <i>pro</i> ei : +diabolus.
7. om. procedens.	uero (ms.) <i>pro</i> ergo. om. procedens.	uero <i>pro</i> ergo. si cadens <i>pro</i> pro- cidens si.	* uol[u]ero <i>pro</i> uolo. dabo <i>pro</i> do. † illam (ms.) <i>pro</i> illa.
* om. coram. omnia tua <i>pro</i> tun- omnia.			si procedens <i>pro</i> pro- cidens si. * om. coram.
8. est+enim.			dixit illi iesus <i>pro</i> iesus d. i. iesus + uade post me satanas.
om. soli. 9. eum <i>pro</i> illum.			diliges dominum deum tuum <i>pro</i> d. d. t. adorabis.
ei <i>pro</i> illi. 10. quoniam <i>pro</i> quod. * † mandauit <i>pro</i> man- dabit. custodian <i>pro</i> con- servent.	† illis <i>pro</i> illi. † mandauit <i>pro</i> man- dabit.	† mandauit <i>pro</i> man- dabit.	illum+diabolus.
11. om. et. manibus+suis.	om. et. manibus + suis (ms.).	om. et. manibus+tuis.	* † mandauit <i>pro</i> man- dabit. te conseruent <i>pro</i> cons- te.
			om. quia.
			† tollant <i>pro</i> tollent.

An analysis of this collation makes it clear, as I believe, that a sudden change in the character of the text takes place at the end of verse 4. For vv. 1-4 the numbers are, μ 4, *Durm* 0, Q 2, r_1 11, asterisks 2; while for vv. 5-11 we have μ 17, *Durm* 5, Q 6, r_1 15, asterisks 4. The beginning of the Lucan Old Latin fragment is therefore to be placed at verse 5. Its close may with no less confidence be assigned to ix. 54. Scarcely any part of the manuscript agrees so closely with r_1 as Luke ix. 45-54. As our collations of passages in this Gospel have not been numerous, we give a comparison of the four texts for these verses and a few which follow them in full, in order that the complete change which occurs in μ at v. 54 may the more easily appear. The number of variants are, for vv. 45-54, μ 27, *Durm* 6, Q 9, r_1 29 or more, asterisks 17; for vv. 55-62, μ 11, *Durm* 8, Q 7, r_1 23, asterisks 3. Our second Old Latin fragment therefore includes Luke iv. 5—ix. 54.

D 2

LIBER MULLING.	CODEX DURMACHENSIS.	CODEX KENANENSIS.	CODEX USSERIANUS (r_1).
Luc. ix.			
45. * hoc uerbum <i>pro</i> uerbum istud. * erat hautem <i>pro</i> et erat. * coopertum <i>pro</i> uelatum. illis <i>pro</i> ante eos. * intellexerent (<i>sic</i>) <i>pro</i> sentirent.	<i>om. et sec.</i> tenebant <i>pro</i> timebant.	<i>om. et sec.</i>	* hoc uerbum <i>pro</i> uerbum istud. * erat autem <i>pro</i> et erat. * coopertum <i>pro</i> uelatum. illos <i>pro</i> eos. * intellegenter <i>pro</i> sentirent. <i>om. illud.</i>
46. * in eis cogitatio <i>pro</i> cog. in eos. <i>om. maior.</i>			* in eos cogitatio <i>pro</i> cog. in eos.
47. * iesus hautem <i>pro</i> at iesus. * eorum <i>pro</i> illorum. adpræhendit <i>pro</i> adprehendens. puerum + et. * <i>om. eum.</i>		<i>eorum (ms.) pro</i> illorum.	* iesus autem <i>pro</i> at iesus. * eorum <i>pro</i> illorum. * <i>om. eum.</i>
48. * <i>om. illis.</i> * accepit <i>pro</i> suscep- terit. † recipit <i>pro</i> recepit: * + non me recipit sed. * <i>om. omnes.</i>	† recipit <i>pro</i> recepit.	† recipit <i>pro</i> recepit: + non me recipit sed.	* <i>om. illis.</i> * accepit <i>pro</i> suscep- terit. receperit <i>pro</i> recepit: * + non me recipit sed]. inter uos est <i>pro</i> est inter omnes uos. * (<i>om. omnes.</i>)

D 2—*continued.*

LIBER MULLING.	CODEX DURMACHENSIS.	CODEX KENANENSIS.	CODEX USSERIANUS (r ₁).
Luc. ix.			
49. respondit <i>pro</i> re-spondens. dicens <i>pro</i> dixit.			
* magister <i>pro</i> pree-ceptor.			
† qui <i>pro</i> quia. eum <i>pro</i> illum. * iesus + sinite eum et.	† inmine (<i>ms.</i>) <i>pro</i> in nomine. <i>om.</i> qui enim.	iesus + sinite eum et. † aduersum <i>pro</i> aduersus.	(hiat r ₁ .) dixit + ad iesum. * magister <i>pro</i> preecep-tor.
50.			<i>om.</i> ad illum. * iesus + sinite eum et.
51. compleretur <i>pro</i> complerentur.	cum <i>pro</i> dum.	cum <i>pro</i> dum.	<i>ad fin. vers.</i> + nemo est autem qui faciat uirtutem in nomine meo et poterit male loqui de me.
* iret + in.			
52. illi + cænam.	iret + in.	iret + in.	* iret + in. euntes + nuntiis.
53. * euntis + in.			illum <i>pro</i> eum. * euntis + in.
54.			uidentes <i>pro</i> cum ui-dissernt.
* uidissent + hautem. iohannes + et.	uidissent + autem.	uidissent + autem.	* uid. + autem.
† dicemus <i>pro</i> dici-mus.			dixerunt + ad iesum. (hiat r ₁ a vis usque et co.).
55.			eos <i>pro</i> illos. <i>ad fin. vers.</i> + sicut helias fecit. conuejrsus autem <i>pro</i> et conu.
om. cuius spiritus estis (<i>vide</i> p. 34). 56. om. filius . . . saluare (<i>vide</i> p. 34).	om. et dixit usque estis. om. filius usque saluare.	om. et dixit usque estis. om. filius usque saluare.	+ iesus ante increpauit. quali spiritu <i>pro</i> cuius spiritus. animas + hominum.
57.			† alium <i>pro</i> aliud. et factum est <i>pro</i> f. est autem. euntibus <i>pro</i> ambulan-tibus.
eum <i>pro</i> illum.			† uiam <i>pro</i> uia. <i>om.</i> illi.
58.	† foueant (<i>ms.</i>) <i>pro</i> foueas.	nidos + ubi requi-escent.	* nidos + ubi requiescant.
* nidos + ubi requies-cant.	† capud + ūiū (<i>ms.</i>).		caput + suum.

D 2—*continued.*

LIBER MULLING.	CODEX DURMACHENSIS.	CODEX KENANENSIS.	CODEX USSERIANUS (r1).
Luc. ix.			
59.			et ait <i>pro</i> ait autem. † alterutrum <i>pro</i> alterum me <i>pro</i> mihi.
60.	* dixitque+ei. <i>om. ut</i> mortui se- peliant. uade+et.	iesus+ei. <i>om. ut.</i> † sepelient (<i>ms.</i>) <i>pro</i> sepeliant.	et dixit <i>pro</i> dixitque : +* ei. <i>om. ut.</i>
61.	alter <i>pro</i> illi. <i>om. sed.</i>	adnuntiare (<i>ms.</i>) <i>pro</i> annuntia.	adnuntiare <i>pro</i> an- nuntia.
	mihi+ire.	alter <i>pro</i> illi.	ait autem <i>pro</i> et ait. alius <i>pro</i> illi.
	* nuntiare <i>pro</i> re- nunt.	nuntiare <i>pro</i> re- nunt.	mihi+ire et. * nuntiare <i>pro</i> renunt. meis <i>pro</i> his. in domo <i>pro</i> domi.
62.	<i>om. suam.</i>		dixit autem <i>pro</i> ait. illi <i>pro</i> ad illum. super <i>pro</i> in.

§ 4. *A Hypothesis.*

It may be well here to suggest a question which is not without interest. Granted that we have imbedded in Mulling's mixed text of the Gospels two fragments of genuine Old Latin,¹ how are we to account for this fact?

¹ The Book of Mulling is not unique in presenting the problem which we are attempting to solve. Readers of M. Berger's great work, *L'Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen age*, will have observed many parallels. Such are the text of the Epistle to the Hebrews (Vulgate, except chaps. x., xi.) in Brit. Mus. Harl. 1772 (Berger, p. 51); the Book of Job in St Gall 11, in which the text of Jerome's first revision of the Old Latin gives place to another in the middle of a word at xxxviii. 15, the handwriting changing at the same time (p. 122); the Chartres St John, Paris, B.N. 10,439 (Old Latin chaps. i.-vi., approaching to Vulgate chaps. vii.-xv., adhering still more closely to the Vulgate chaps. xvi.-xxi.: Berger, p. 89); the Sapiential Books in Metz 7 (Vulgate up to the middle of Wisdom, thenceforth "an exceedingly mixed text, abounding in passages taken from the ancient versions :" p. 101); the text of Acts in the Rosas Bible, Paris, B.N. Lat. 6 (Vulgate, except xi. 1-xii. 8, which is European : p. 25); and, most striking of all, the text of Acts in Paris B.N. 321. This is so closely analogous to our manuscript that M. Berger's words (p. 77) may be quoted: "Le livre des Actes des Apôtres est composé de deux parties fort différentes. Le premier tiers, jusqu'au verset 7 du chapitre xiii., représente un texte mêlé dans lequel les éléments anciens tiennent une si grande place, que l'on peut à peu près le considérer comme un texte ancien. Le texte antérieur à saint Jérôme reprend à xviii. 15 et occupe le fin du livre. Malheureusement les leçons anciennes ont été le plus souvent corrigées par grattage, de sorte qu'il est quelquefois difficile de les retrouver. Entre ces deux limites, le texte semble être un texte méridional," etc. The change of a few words would make this an accurate description of the text of St Matthew in our Book. Other parallels are mentioned in the text.

It will conduce to clearness if, before giving what we believe to be the most probable answer to this question, we state a theory which is obviously suggested by the facts, and which for some time appeared to the writer sufficient to account for them.

Let us suppose that the scribe—the writer, that is, either of the manuscript actually before us, or of one from which it was copied—had before him a codex from which a few pages were missing. The text of this was mainly Vulgate. When he reached the lacunæ, the deficiencies of the primary exemplar were supplied from another, the text of which was pre-hieronymian.

The truth of this hypothesis is, of course, incapable of proof. But it accounts for the facts by which it is suggested, and it is confirmed by various considerations.

It supposes, be it observed, that the main exemplar of the scribe was an imperfect copy of the Vulgate. This is proved to have been the case in another instance—the Stowe St John. In the Stowe manuscript the lacunæ of the exemplar are not supplied in the copy.¹

It supposes, again, that our scribe used two exemplars, preferring the Vulgate, but having recourse to the other, an Old Latin manuscript, in case of need. That two different types of text should be current side by side in Ireland in early times, and that copies of both should be found in the library of a single monastery, will not surprise those who have studied Mr Haddan's account² of the gradual progress of the Vulgate in these Islands, or M. Berger's abridgment of the story.³ And more direct proof in the shape of parallel cases is not wanting. The scribe of the Book of Durrow had in his hands, in like manner, two manuscripts—one of the Vulgate, another of the Old Latin.⁴ So, again, had the scribe of Ussher's Codex. Its text is pre-hieronymian, and so lacked the *Pericope Adulterae*. This supposed deficiency is supplied from a Vulgate manuscript.⁵ And, moreover, a similar hypothesis will be found to explain some of the phenomena of the Codex Usserianus Alter (r_2). This manuscript Professor Abbott regards as preserving an Old Latin text in St Matthew. In the latter chapters it certainly does so, but I venture to think the fact is not so clearly made out in the earlier portion of the Gospel. I must not encumber these pages with needless collations. It will suffice therefore to say that of the first half of St Matthew's Gospel only three fragments remain—i. 18–ii. 6, iv. 24–v. 29, and xiii. 7–xiv. 1. In the two latter of these passages the variants of Q are almost identical in number with those of r_2 ; in the first there is a decided preponderance on the side of the latter manuscript. Now the existing portions of chapters iv., v., and xiii. are quite long enough to

¹ J. H. Bernard in the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, xxx. p. 316.

² Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. i. p. 180 *sqq.*

³ Berger, *L'Histoire*, p. 30.

⁴ See above pp. 21, 39.

⁵ Abbott, *Evangeliorum Versio*, p. vii.

enable us to come to a satisfactory judgment as to the character of the text of which they are fragments, and the fact just mentioned leaves no room for doubt that it was Vulgate with Old Latin mixture. When we reach chap. xvi., and more especially when v. 19 is passed, we at once perceive a change. The variants of r_2 in xvi. 20–28 are nearly four times as numerous as those of Q.¹ May we not conclude that in r_2 part of St Matthew's Gospel was copied from a mixed text, the remainder from a manuscript of an Old Latin version?

The hypothesis, therefore, which we have provisionally assumed to account for the phenomena of μ , receives confirmation from the fact that a similar hypothesis serves to explain the textual features of the only other Irish Old Latin manuscripts of the Gospels known to exist.² And if we go a little further afield we shall find other parallels. Mr White³ tells us, for example, that the Codex Palatinus (*e*) of the Old Latin, though mainly African, must have been copied from an ordinary European MS. in the last few chapters of St Luke; and he subjoins the remark that other similar instances of vacillation in the text of Old Latin manuscripts might be added. Dr Sanday, in like manner, suggests⁴ that the last leaf of the archetype of *a* was lost or worn, and the text of this portion taken from some other copy. And a most interesting case of the same kind has recently been brought to light. The Earl of Crawford possesses a Syriac manuscript of the entire New Testament containing a version of the Apocalypse of which the only other known copy is a fragment in the British Museum. This version is akin to the Philoxenian rendering of the other New Testament books; but the exemplar from which the Crawford manuscript was copied had lost a leaf at the beginning, and the lacuna has been supplied from a manuscript of the later re-cension, akin to the Harkleian version, the *editio princeps* of which was published by De Dieu at Leyden in 1627, and which is now usually bound up with the Peshitto.⁵

¹ The numbers of the variants in the three MSS. *Durm*, Q, r_2 for the passages mentioned in the text may be exhibited in a table. Mere variations of spelling and unmistakable blunders are not reckoned. Several readings of r_2 , however, are counted, which are almost certainly errors of the scribe.

	i. 19–ii. 6.	iv. 24–v. 29.	xiii. 8–58.	xvi. 13–19.	xvi. 20–28.
<i>Durm</i>	5	7	21	2	3
Q	6	14	57	10	10
r_2	15	18	61	15	36

² Excluding, of course, the St Gall fragment (*p*).

³ Scrivener's *Introduction*, 4th ed., ii. p. 56.

⁴ *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, ii. p. clxxv.

⁵ Full proof of this fact is given by Professor Gwynn in his paper "On a Syriac MS. of the New Testament belonging to the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, and on an in-edited version of the Apocalypse therein contained": *Trans. R.I.A.*, vol. xxx. part x., App. E, p. 414. See also *The Apocalypse of St John in a Syriac Version hitherto unknown*, edited by John Gwynn, Dublin, 1897, part ii. p. 37.

Our hypothesis is therefore well supported by parallel cases. We have next to remark that it seems to account sufficiently for two curious readings, one at the beginning, the other at the end of the Lucan fragment. To begin with the latter. It is found in St Luke ix. 55, 56. Our Lord's answer to the question of the two disciples is there cut down by our scribe to the single word "Nescitis." In many Greek MSS. the entire answer and the two preceding words "et dixit" are omitted, and this reading is followed by the Books of Armagh, Kells, and Durrow, Ussher's second Codex, and other Irish Vulgate manuscripts. The scribe of the Book of Mulling is conscious that there is something wrong in his (apparently unique) reading. For immediately after writing "Nescitis" he adds *in his text* the letter "d" (= "desunt") and places in the upper margin the remaining words of the sentence, reading the last five words, if not the whole clause, as they are found in r_1 , which here differs from the Vulgate. It is not difficult to suggest an explanation. After copying v. 54 from his Old Latin exemplar, the scribe turns once more to the manuscript whose text he preferred, and which now again becomes available. But his memory of the other codex is still fresh, and so he writes "et dixit nescitis" before he observes that these words, with those that follow them, are absent from the text which he is transcribing. He allows the words which he has written to stand in his text, inserts after them the mark indicating omission, and relegates the remainder, which he takes from his Old Latin manuscript, to the margin.

We turn now to St. Luke iv. 5—the first verse, as we have already seen, of the fragment. It opens with the words "Et duxit illum iterum diabolus." What is the antecedent of "iterum"? Plainly neither "Agebatur in spiritu" (v. 1), nor "I' dixit autem illi diabolus" (v. 3). "Iterum" is in fact meaningless as the text stands. But rearrange the narrative according to the order of r_1 , in which the third temptation, according to the Vulgate, precedes the second, and all becomes clear. We now have "Et duxit eum in hierusalem" (v. 9) . . . "Et duxit illum iterum" (v. 5). What has happened is evident. The scribe was copying from an exemplar in which the temptations were given in the order in which they are found in all European Old Latin manuscripts.¹ He transposed the last two, but in other respects preserved the text unchanged. Now what prompted this clumsy dislocation of the text? The answer which the hypothesis under consideration suggests is this. The scribe has before him a Vulgate text. Suddenly at v. 5 it deserts him; but enough remains

¹ So *b, c, f, l, q, r₁*. The Vercelli manuscript (*a*) is no exception, for, in the first place, its text is not European in St Luke (Scrivener's *Introduction*, ii. 56); and moreover, though it here follows the African and Vulgate order, the marks of transposition in it are even clearer than in *μ*. The opening words of v. 5 in it are, "Et adduxit eum hierusalem et statuit eum supra pinnam templi et ostendit illi," etc. I know of no MS. except *μ* which reads "iterum" in v. 5 while following the Vulgate order; *e*, however, has "secundo."

to indicate that what immediately followed v. 4 in it was v. 5, and not, as in his secondary exemplar, to which he now turns, v. 9. It breaks off, let us suppose, with the words "Et duxit illum diabolus et ostendit illi omnia" . . . This is sufficient as a cue. Following it as well as he can, he transcribes vv. 5-8 exactly as they stand in his second copy, before turning to v. 9, not perceiving that in so doing he deprives "iterum" of all meaning.

In spite of the many arguments by which our preliminary hypothesis may be supported, it lies open to one objection, not indeed absolutely fatal, but sufficiently serious. The Gospels of St Matthew and St Luke are in our Book divided into sections, according to a system found in many Old Latin texts.¹ These divisions embrace the Old Latin as well as the mixed portions of the text. This fact in itself makes it probable that these Gospels were ultimately derived not from two copies, but from a single exemplar of the Old Latin text, altered by the hands of successive copyists to its present state.

This is not, it is true, a necessary inference. The Old Latin exemplar would most probably have these sections. But experience shows us that quite possibly a mixed copy might have them also; and so, on the supposition that our scribe used two exemplars, we are not absolutely prohibited from believing that both of them had sections such as we have mentioned. Probability, however, is against the supposition; and so we come to suggest another hypothesis, or rather a hypothesis which is that already proposed, but in a slightly modified form. It is this: Our scribe copied from an Old Latin exemplar, which we may call *x*. This manuscript had, however, been previously corrected by means of an imperfect copy of the Vulgate, *y*. Where *y* failed, the pre-hieronymian text remained; where it was available, the resulting text was mixed.

This hypothesis is supported by all the parallel instances which have been adduced above. It supposes, as before, in the hands of a scribe an imperfect Vulgate, *y*, evidently regarded as giving the better text, and an Old Latin, *x*. It explains, moreover, the reading "iterum" at iv. 5, just as readily as the other hypothesis. It accounts, too, though not so easily, for "et dixit nescitis" at ix. 56. The passage may have been expuncted in *x* by the corrector, though our scribe did not perceive the marks of deletion till he had written its first three words, or he may have mistaken the meaning of marks over the final words of the saying ascribed to Christ. It is, moreover, supported by the fact that in St Matthew and St Luke alone, the division into sections of the type referred to occurs. For these Gospels, therefore, and probably for these alone, we are obliged to suppose an ultimate Old Latin archetype. It will not, then, surprise us to find in them, and in them alone, a few pages passed over by the corrector, exhibiting an Old Latin text. And finally, it is supported by the fact that the Matthean Old Latin fragment is actually

¹ See above, p. 30 *sqq.*

corrected into conformity with the Vulgate, exactly in the way we have supposed *x* to have been corrected by means of *y*. But this will be seen more clearly in our next section.

§ 5. *The Corrector.*

We turn, then, to these corrections of the text with which our fragments are so thickly studded. These corrections are, so far as I can judge, all written by the same hand—the hand of him who added the marginal numbers. They were certainly in some cases made concurrently with or before the insertion of the numbers. This may be seen, for example, by an inspection of f. 47 *r a*, l. 25 (St Matt. xxvi. 1). Here the words “omnia verba haec” have been erased, and in their room “sermones hos omnes” has been written. The correction extends, however, so far into the margin, that the number referring to the Eusebian Canon, which had to be inscribed opposite the corresponding line of the second column (l. 24, Matt. xxvi. 26), is placed more to the right than is customary; while, at the same time, the number of the section (eclxxiii.) is begun too high and written in a slanting direction, so that the last letter composing it is in its proper position.¹ Thus the correction of the first column was completed before the numbers of the second were written. And in the second column the first words of this section, as originally written, were “et manducantibus.” The word “et” is erased, a punctuation mark set in its place, and “Et (in prominent character) edentibus” written above the line. The text is altered in the very act of marking the beginning of the section. Thus it is quite clear that the corrector was identical with the numerator,² and that he did both parts of his work concurrently. It is important to note this fact, because it appears to lead us to a further inference. The emendations and the numerals must have been taken from the same exemplar. The large number of these emendations shows us how thoroughly (too thoroughly) the corrector accomplished his task in St Matthew’s Gospel. His purpose seems to have been to assimilate the text of μ to that of the copy which he had in his hands. He was unsparing in the performance of this work, and we may be pretty confident that, except by oversight, he omitted to alter no word which differed from his codex. What, then, was the character of the manuscript from which the corrections

¹ Similar phenomena are found at Matt. xxii. 46 (xxiii. 23), xxiv. 26 (40), 27 (42), Luke xix. 25 (39), etc. Specially interesting is Matt. xxvii. 3 (facsimile page, col. b, ll. 16, 17). Here the corrector wished to transpose “eum tradidit.” He therefore wrote a double stroke under “eum,” and a single stroke over “tradidit” in the usual way. The latter was found to interfere with the signature, belonging to “Tunc.” Hence it was replaced by a single stroke under “tradidit.” Obviously the signature was written after the first and before the second of these single strokes.

² It may be remarked, in confirmation of this conclusion, that there is no perceptible difference of hand between words introduced with the sole purpose of emending the reading, and those by which the beginnings of sections are marked.

were drawn? Any copy of the Latin Gospels which is furnished with the Eusebian Sections and Canons may be expected to contain a substantially Vulgate text. That this was the character of the text of the corrector's manuscript is proved by collating our first fragment, as it left his hands, with the Codex Amiatinus. In a very few instances an Amiatine reading is replaced by another: now and then one reading gives way to another, neither of which is Amiatine; but in the vast majority of cases, readings which differ from those found in A are obliged to make way for rivals which it supports. Let us take, for example, St Matt. xxiv. 21–31, which has been collated above (B 1). It occupies lines 1–31 of the first column of f. 46 *r.* In this passage μ varies from A 16 times. In two cases the corrector introduces non-Amiatine readings, and in nine he brings our text into agreement with the Amiatine. He leaves therefore 7 variants. Q, in the same passage, has also 7. Examining in the same way St Matthew xxvii. 20–26, we find the 13 variants of μ reduced by a similar process to 6, while again Q has 7. If we extended our inquiry further, the result would be to prove that the manuscript from which the Old Latin fragment was corrected was of much the same character as Q or the greater part of μ ,—in fact, that it contained a mixed Vulgate text.

In the Lucan fragment the work of correction does not seem to have been done in so thorough-going a spirit as in St Matthew. Thus, in the two passages collated above (B 2), μ has 45 variants, while there are only 6 corrections. Every one of these, however, is an assimilation to the Amiatine text. The manuscript, therefore, from which they were taken, if not the same, was at least probably of the same character as that which the diorthotes used in St Matthew.

Who, then, was the corrector? I have already stated my belief that the scribe who added the marginal numbers, and at the same time divided the Gospels into sections, revised the text as he went along. I must now express the further conviction that this reviser was identical with the original scribe (or with one of them, if there were several) of the manuscript. It is true some slight difference may be detected in the writing of the text and of the corrections. But the difference is not greater than that which is found to exist in many cases between two pages of the text itself. And, independently of this fact, a difference in the script was to be expected, owing to the difference of the conditions under which it was executed. A man naturally writes better when his letters are penned upon a blank sheet of well prepared vellum, than when he inserts them where he can find space between closely written lines or over erasures. And so the writing of the text in our fragments is *better* than the writing of the emendations, but the difference extends, as I believe, no further. It is quite consistent with identity of hand.

But, again, if we suppose that the corrections are not due to the first hand, we are driven to one or other of two conclusions. The

Book of Mulling consists of five gatherings, forming what the colophon calls separate "volumina." The last four of these contain the evangelical text with some additions. The first is occupied with Jerome's letter to Damasus and other similar matter, including the Eusebian Canons. If we do not admit that our corrections and numerals are by the hand of the writer of the bulk of the manuscript, we are bound, therefore, to believe, either that the first gathering was penned by a different scribe from the last four,—in other words, that it is not really part of the Book of Mulling properly so called,—or that a manuscript, provided with a table of the Canons, was nevertheless un supplied with the sections and marginal numbers, which were absolutely necessary if the table was to have either use or meaning.

It must be admitted indeed that the latter alternative is neither impossible nor without example. The Book of Armagh, for example, has the table of canons without the marginal numbers. Not only so. Its Gospel text is divided into regular sections, the beginnings of which are usually indicated, as in our Book, by capitals set out in the margin : and these sections are clearly quite independent of the Eusebio-Ammonian division. The Book of Armagh is therefore an exact parallel to our manuscript, supposing the latter to have been left by its original scribe without indication in the text, by numbers or otherwise, of the Eusebian sections. But even though the phenomena of the Book of Mulling may be illustrated by those of one or two other codices, we are still entitled to assert that the supposition which we are now discussing is *a priori* improbable. Nothing could be more natural than that a scribe who had added to his Gospel text the usual prefatory matter, should afterwards, when revising his work, bring the latter into agreement with the former in the way we have supposed.

On the other hand, the hypothesis that the scribe of the first "volumen" was different from that of the other four, does not seem to have occurred to such palæographers as Westwood and Gilbert. The writing of the first gathering does indeed present a different appearance from that of the Gospels to a superficial observer ; it is larger, and it is written all across the page, instead of in columns. But the form and character of the letters are similar ; the abbreviations used are, so far as I have observed, the same in both cases ; and I see, therefore, no reason to suppose a difference of hand.¹ It may, then, perhaps be granted that it is at least the more probable view that the entire manuscript (with the exception of the office for the Visitation of the Sick), including prefatory matter, numerals, and corrections, was the work of a single scribe. Assuming this to be true, and assuming also² that this scribe was not the Mulling of the colophon, but one who copied from him, we are now in a position to construct a tentative and hypothetical history of the writing of the

¹ See above, p. 8 *sq.* But compare also Appendix B.

² As has been already shown, p. 13 *sqq.*

Evangelium. St Molling of Ferns, in the latter half of the seventh century, wrote a copy of the four Gospels, in four gatherings of leaves, with a colophon in which this fact was stated. His exemplars were three in number,¹ including a mixed Vulgate text of St Mark, an Old Latin text of St Matthew and St Luke, and a copy of St John, written *per cola et commata*. The first and third Gospels were subsequently corrected from an imperfect Vulgate, or mixed copy. In the ninth century a transcript of Molling's Evangelium, thus corrected, and including the colophon, was made by a scribe of his monastery. This scribe possessed another mixed Vulgate Gospel manuscript, from which he took the numbers of sections and canons now found in the margin of the copy which he made. At the same time he adapted the text to them, made many corrections of the text, wrote an additional page which will be described hereafter,² and added a fifth "volumen" or gathering containing Jerome's prefaces and the Table of Canons, probably copied from the second manuscript just mentioned. The result was the Book of Mulling as we now have it.

Whether I have made it probable that this is a true history I must leave to others to decide. At least one thing is certain. We have succeeded in laying our hand on the adulteration of the text in its actual process. A copy made from the corrected text of our first fragment would have differed essentially from its archetype. The latter was Old Latin, the former would have been mainly Vulgate with Old Latin mixture. It is worth at least a sentence to remark, that such a text is formed, in this case at least, not by adulteration of the Vulgate with reminiscences of the older text, as we might have assumed to be the usual order of things,³ but by the reverse process—by deliberately doctoring a pre-hieronymian text in order to bring it up to date. The text has in fact been constructed by exactly the same method as that which we have assumed to have given birth to that of the remainder of the Gospels of St Matthew and St Luke.

It may be well to add here a list of the readings of the corrector which differ from those of the Codex Amiatinus.

Matt. xxiv. 25. *om. vers.*

27. *apparet pro paret.*

46. *dominus eius.*

xxv. 2. *his pro eis.*

14. *om. peregre.*

29. *om. et sec.*

34. *om. eius.*

36. *carcere eram.*

37. *om. ei (?).*

39. [. .] *pro et pri.*

xxvi. 14. *dicitur pro dicebatur.*

26. *om. et comedite.*

28. *effundetur pro effundit.*

Matt. xxvi. 36. *gezamani.*

39. *procedit pro procidit.*

42. *iterum hautem abiit pro iterum secundo abiit.*

48. *illum pro eum.*

eis pro illis.

56. *adimplerentur pro implerentur.*

58. *finem rei pro finem.*

59. *princeps pro principes.*

64. *cum pro in.*

67. *om. in pri.*

om. ei.

¹ See above, p. 41. [■] Chapters vii. and viii.

² Compare Westcott and Hort's *New Testament*, ii. 81.

Matt. xxvi. 71. <i>om.</i> autem.	Matt. xxvii. 41. inludebant eum <i>pro</i> in-
75. fleuit amarissime <i>pro</i> plorauit amare.	ludentes.
xxvii. 1. aduersum <i>pro</i> aduersus.	43. confidit <i>pro</i> confidet.
3. tradidit eum <i>pro</i> eum trad.	domino <i>pro</i> deo.
quia <i>pro</i> quod.	46. hel. i. hel. i.
13. aduersus <i>pro</i> aduersum.	49. liberare <i>pro</i> liberans.
19. tibi sit <i>pro</i> tibi. illum <i>pro</i> eum.	Luke iv. 32. eius <i>pro</i> ipsius.
20. princepes <i>pro</i> princeps.	33. sinagoga + eorum.
22. faciemus <i>pro</i> faciam (?).	34. sis + tu es.
23. <i>om.</i> dicentes.	Luke v. 15. <i>om.</i> autem.
24. huius iusti <i>pro</i> iusti huius.	16. deserto <i>pro</i> desertum.
35. <i>om.</i> ut impleretur &c.	31. <i>om.</i> et.
40. distruit . . reaedificat <i>pro</i> destruebat . . reaedificabat.	37. ueteres uteres <i>pro</i> uteres uet.
	vi. 35. desperantes <i>pro</i> inde sperantes.
	viii. 2. e[x] <i>pro</i> de.
	ix. 20. ait <i>pro</i> dixit.

§ 6. *Value of the Text.*

We must now attempt to estimate the value of our fragments as witnesses to the text of the Gospels in Ireland before the influence of the Vulgate translation began to be felt. A rough and ready test at once suggests itself. For the greater part of the Matthew fragment we are able to compare our text with two others, r_1 and r_2 . There are in fact about 540 places in which one or more of the three Old Latin manuscripts vary from the Codex Amiatinus, where the evidence of all three is available.¹ In about 140 of these $\mu r_1 r_2$ agree in supporting a reading different from the Amiatine. In 17 all three vary from it, but without supporting each other. In 11, two vary independently, the third supporting the Amiatine reading. In about 50 cases μ alone differs from A, in 70 cases r_1 , in 130 r_2 . Again in 65 readings μ supports the Codex Amiatinus against the combined testimony of the other two, r_1 does the same 25 times, r_2 35 times. In all these latter cases we seem to have undoubted instances of Vulgate mixture in the several copies. Thus it will be seen that the Vulgate element in r_2 is more marked than in r_1 , while in μ it is much greater than in either of these. On the other hand, r_2 , as Mr Abbott remarks,² is full of blunders. The value of its singular readings is to a great extent discounted by this fact, and by it also their large number, as compared with those of r_1 and μ , is at least partially accounted for.

¹ The numbers given in this and the following paragraph are to be regarded as merely approximate, though I have taken pains to make them as accurate as possible. The general inference drawn from them is not likely, I believe, to be affected by any errors I may have made in the enumeration.

² *Evangeliorum Versio*, p. xvi.

On the whole, therefore, r_1 must be held to contain the purest Old Latin text, μ the most corrupted, while r_2 —allowance being made for errors of the scribe—occupies a position midway between them.

In the Lucan fragment, the relation between μ and r_1 seems not to be quite the same as in St Matthew. In the former there are 1078 places in which one or other of the manuscripts varies from A. In 379 of these μ and r_1 agree, or, though not yielding exactly the same text, support one another in opposition to A; in 87 they vary from it independently. In 345 cases μ alone varies from A, in 267 cases r_1 alone. These figures point to the inference that μ has here an older type of text than r_1 . That the variation in character has taken place rather in μ than in r_1 appears from the fact that while the number of variants in both manuscripts is greater than might have been expected, judging from the number found in St Matthew, the increase in variation is even more marked in μ than in r_1 . The Lucan fragment is about half as long again as the Matthean, and the Codex Usserianus is here in a less fragmentary state. Now in St Matthew r_1 yields 336 variants; we might therefore expect rather more than 500 in St Luke. We have in fact 733, or about 50 per cent more. In μ , on the other hand, in St Matthew, there are nearly 275 variants, which warrants us in anticipating say 410 in St Luke. We actually find more than double the number—831. There is no evidence, so far as I have observed, to show that either r_1 or μ has suffered more from transcriptional errors in the third than in the first Gospel: we may thus pretty safely infer that the text of μ is in St Luke more ancient than in St Matthew,—more ancient indeed than that of r_1 in either Gospel, and less adulterated with Vulgate mixture.

CHAPTER V.

THE OLD LATIN PASSAGES.

THE purpose of the following line for line copy of the Old Latin portions of the Book of Mulling—St Matt. xxiv. 12–xxviii. 3 ; St Luke iv. 5–ix. 54—is to reproduce these passages of the manuscript as nearly as possible in the form in which they were originally written. Contractions are indeed expanded, but letters which had to be supplied are printed in italics. The manuscript has throughout been corrected by a hand closely resembling, or, as I rather think, identical with that of the original scribe. All alterations of the text made in the course of this correction are recorded in the lower margin. In some cases the original writing has become, in consequence of erasure or other causes, illegible : where this is so, the text is conjecturally restored, and the letters by which the hiatus is filled are enclosed in square brackets. If the conjecture is not obvious, a note is added at the end of the chapter stating the grounds on which it is based. It has been already remarked that the corrector divided the book into Ammonian sections, and that in order to force the text into agreement with this division, he sometimes erased the opening letters of the sections and re-wrote them in bolder character, sometimes contented himself with re-touching the first letter or two, so as to make them more prominent. In a few instances, in order to make room for the fresh writing, the scribe was obliged also to erase the closing words of the preceding section and re-write them in the margin or wherever space was available. In such cases as these the *prima facie* presumption clearly is that the original text was identical with that which we now have. I have therefore simply copied it without comment, bracketing those letters which in the original script have been so successfully erased as to be now illegible. The end of a section is always indicated by an asterisk (*) and those places in which the sections of our manuscript do not coincide with those of *Codex Amiatinus* are mentioned in the notes.

I may add that the abbreviations *ib̄s xps xpc* have not been expanded. Originally contractions of Greek words, they should be represented by Greek expansions if at all, but no doubt by our scribe they were regarded as merely conventional symbols. How he would have expanded the first it is impossible to say, for the word is not once (if we except *iesus*, Luk. iii. 29) written in full in the manuscript. The familiar symbol *lī* I have ventured to expand *hautem*. The word is frequently so spelt in Irish MSS. (e.g. Book of Kells at St Luke, v. 6), and it seems not impossible that this spelling gave rise to the customary abbreviation.

S. MATT. xxiv. 12-20.

f. 45 v. b.

25 *tos et quoniam* habundabit iniq[ue]itas *et refri-*
geres et caritas multorum qui hautem perman-
serit usque in finem hic saluus erit .—*
 Et prædicabitur hoc euangelium regni ¹p[er]totum¹
²orbe[m] intestimonium om̄nibus gentibus
 30 et tunc ueniet consummatio * cum ³hautem uideritis
 abominationem desolationis quæ dic-
 ta est per danielum profetam stantem in
 loco sancto qui legit intellegat * tunc qui in iudea
 sunt fugiant in montes et qui in tecto sunt non
 35 discendent tollere aliquid de domu
 sua et qui in agro erit non reuertatur tollere
 tonicam suam * uæ hautem ⁴pregnantibus et
 nutrientibus in illis diebus * orate hautem
 ut non fiat fuga uestra hyeme uel sab-

¹⁻¹ *Expuncted : above the line, in un-*
iuerso.

² *The line over e (representing m) erased.*

³ *Expuncted : in margin, ergo.*

⁴ *Above the line (over e), i.*

S. MATT. xxiv. 20-34.

f. 46 r. a.

[bato * erit eni]m tunc tribulatio magna
 qualis non fuit ab initio ¹sæculi usque mo
 do neque fiet * et nisi br̄ebiati fuissent
 dies illi non fierit salua omnis caro
 5 sed propter electos ² br̄ebiabantur[tur] dies
 [illi * tunc] si quis uobis dixerit ecce hic xps
 aut illic nolite credere * ³ [ex]jurgent
 enim seudoxpi et seudoprofetæ et dab
 unt signa magna et prodigia ita ut in er
 10 rorem inducant si fieri potest etiam
⁴elect[os] * ⁵ ecce prædixi uobis ⁵ si ergo dixerint
 uobis ecce in deserto est nolite ⁶ credere
 ecce in penitribilibus nolite credere *
 sicut enim fulgor exit ab oriente et ⁷ paret
 15 usque ⁸ ad occidentem ita erit aduentus
 f[ili]i hominis * ubi] cumque fuerit corpus illiæ con
 gregabuntur aquilæ * ⁹ [et] statim hautem post tri
 bulationem dierum eorum sol obscurabitur
 et luna non dabit lumen suum et stelle
 20 cadent de cælo et uirtutes ¹⁰ eorum com
 mouebuntur * et tunc apparebit signum
 filii hominis in cælo et tunc plangent ¹¹ se omnes
 tribus terræ et uidebunt filium homini's ue
 nientem in nubibus cæli cum uirtute m
 25 ulta et maiestate et mittit angelos
 suos cum tuba et uoce magna et congre
 gabunt electos eius a quattuor an
 gulis uentorum asummo cælorum usque
 ad terminos eorum ¹² cum coopererent hæc fieri
 30 respicete et leuate caput quoniam
 adpropeat redemptio uesta ¹² ab
 arbore hautem fici discite para
 bulam cum iam ramus eius tener fuerit
 et folia nata cognoscetis
 35 prope esse æstas sic
 et uos cum uideritis hæc
 omnia scitote quoniam
 prope est ianuæ amen dico
 uobis quia non præteribit hæc generatio

¹ Expuncted : above the line, mundi.² The letters enclosed in brackets erased.³ ex erased : over the erasure S.⁴ os erased : over the erasure i ;⁵⁻⁶ Expuncted.⁶ Expuncted : in margin exire.⁷ Above the line (over p) is added ap.⁸ Expuncted : above the line in.⁹ Erased.¹⁰ Above the line c l ; e changed into
⁹ : the word being thus altered to
 celorum.¹¹ Expuncted.¹²⁻¹² Expuncted, and a line drawn down
 left margin.

S. MATT. XXIV. 34-XXV. 3.

f. 46 r. b.

donec omnia fiant cælum et terra [t]ran
 sibunt uerba ¹ hautem mea non ² transibunt *

de die hautem illa et hora nemo scit neque
 angeli cælorum nisi pater solus * sicut ³ enim in diebus
 5 noe ita erit et aduentus filii homi
 nis sicut enim erant in diebus ante diluïum
 manducabant et bibebant et nube
 bant et uxores ducebant usque in diem
 quo intrauit noe in arcam et non senserunt
 10 donec uenit diluïum et tulit omnes ita ^{3a} erit
 aduentus filii hominis * tunc ⁴ erunt ⁵ duo in agro
 unus ⁶ adsumet[ur] ⁷ et [alte]r ⁷ relinquetur duæ ⁸
 in mola ⁹ unus adsumetur et ¹⁰ un[us] relinquetur *
¹¹ uigilate ergo quia nescitis qua die uel qua
 15 hora dominus uester uenturus est * illud hautem sci
 tote quoniam si sciret pater familias qua
 hora firū uenisset uigilaret utique
 et non sineret perfudiri domum suam ideo
 et uos estote parati quia nescitis qua
 20 hora filius hominis uenturus est * ¹² fidelis seruus
 et prudens quem constituit dominus suus super
 familiam suam ut det illis cibum in tempore *
 beatus ille seruus quem cum uenerit dns ^{12a} in
 uenerit sic facientem amen dico uobis
 25 quoniam super omnia bona sua constituet eum *
 si hautem dixerit malus ille seruus in corde
 suo moram facit dominus meus uenire et ^{12b} incip
 conseruos suos percutere manducit
 hautem et bibat cum ebriosis ueniet dominus ser
 30 ui illius in die qua non sperat et hora qua
 ignorat et diuidit cum partem que eius ponet
 cum infidelibus illis erit fletus et stridor denti[um] *
 Tunc simile erit regnum cælorum x virginibus
 que ¹³ acciperunt lampades suas ¹⁴ et exierunt
 35 ¹⁵ obiam sponsō ¹⁶ quinque hautem ex ¹⁷ eis erant fa
 tue et quinque prudentes ¹⁸ fatuae hautem
 acceptis lampadibus ¹⁹ suis

¹ Expuncted: above the line, uero.² Above the line, præteribunt.³ Above the line, hautem.^{3a} After this word is added et.^{4, 5} Marked for transposition.⁶ The mark indicating [ur] apparently
 erased and re-written.^{7, 7} Erased: over erasure, et unus.⁸ After duæ is added in margins mo | l
 entes. ⁹ us us erased: over erasure a.¹⁰ us erased: over erasure a.¹¹ Altered into Uigelate,¹² Above the line, quis putas cst.^{12a} In margin is added eius.^{12b} Some letters, apparently iet, are
 added in margin.¹³ perunt expuncted: above the line, pi
 entes.¹⁴ erased. ¹⁵ Above the line (over b), u.¹⁶ In lower margin is added, et sponsæ.¹⁷ e expuncted: over the line, h.¹⁸ In margin is added, sed quinq[ue].¹⁹ Expuncted.

S. MATT. XXV. 3-22.

f. 46 v. a.

[non sum] pserunt oleum secum prudentes uero acci
 per[unt] oleum in uassis suis cum lampadibus suis
 moram hautem faciente sponso dormita
 uerunt omnes et dormierunt media hautem nocte
 5 clamor factus est ecce sponsus uenit
 exite obiam ei tunc surrexerunt omnes illæ
 uirgines et accepierunt lampades suas
 fatuæ hautem sapientibus dixerunt date nobis
 deoleo uestro quia lampades nostræ exti
 10 nguntur responderunt prudentes et
 dixerunt non ne forte non sufficiat no
 bis et uobis ite putius ad eos qui uendu
 nt et emite nobis dum hautem irent emere
 uenit sponsus et quæ parate erant
 15 intrauerunt cum eo adnuptias et clusaest
 ianua postea uenerunt reliquæ uir
 gines dicentes domine domine aperi nobis
 at ille respondens ait amen dico uobis quia
 nescio uos uigilate itaque quia nescitis
 20 diem neque horam * sicut enim homo ¹ peregre pro
 ficiens uocauit seruos suos et tra
 didit illis bona sua * ² et uni ³ quidem dedit
 quinque talenta alio hautem duo alio uero unum
 unicuique secundum propriam uirtutem
 25 et profectus est continuo hautem abiit qui quinque
 talenta acciperat et operatus est
 in eis et lucratus est alia quinque simi
 liter hautem et qui duo accipit lucratus est alia
 duo qui hautem unum acciperat ⁴ habens fo
 30 dit in terram et abscondit pecuniam domini
 sui post multum tempus uenit dominus illorum
 seruorum et possuit rationem cum eis
 accessit qui quinque ⁵ talente acciperat et
 obtulit alia quinque dicens domine quinque talen
 35 ta tradidisti mihi ecce alia quinque superlu
 cratus sum at illi dominus suus euge ser
 ue bonæ et fidelis quia super pauca fide
 lis fuisti super multa té constituam
 intra gaudium domini tui accessit et qui duo
 40 talenta acciperat similiter dixit domine
 duo talenta mihi tradidisti

¹ Expuncted.² Above the line, Et.³ Expuncted.⁴ Above the line (over b), i.⁵ The last letter expuncted: above the
line, a.

S. MATT. XXV. 22-37.

f. 46 v. b.

ecce alio duo superlucratus sum [ait illi dominus]
 suus euge serue bone et fidelis quia super
 pauca fidelis fuisti super multa te con-
 stituam intra gaudium domini accedens hautem qui
 5 unum talentum acciperat ait domine
 scio quia homo durus esmetis ubi non seminasti
 et colligis ubi non sparsisti timui enim et
 abi et abscondi talentum tuum in terra
 ecce habes quod tuum est respondens hautem dominus
 eius

10 dixit ei serue mala piger sciebas quia
 metuo ubi non semino et colligo ubi non sp-
 arsi oportuit ergo te dare pecuni
 am meam nummularis et ego ueniens
 recipissem utique quod meum est cum ussura

15 tollite itaque ab eo talentum et date
 ei qui habet ·x· talenta * [o]mni enim ha-
 benti dabitur et habundabit ei hautem qui
 non habet ¹ etiam quod ² ³ habet auferetur *
⁴ [ab eo et] seruum ⁵ nequam ⁶ proiecite ⁷ foras

20 intenebras exteriores illis erit fle-
 tus et stridor dentium., * ff et omnes

Cum hautem uenerit filius hominis in maiestate sua
 angeli cum eo tunc sedebit super sedem ma-
 iestatis suae et congregabuntur ante

25 eum omnes gentes et seperabit ⁸ ab inuicem
 quem ad modum separat pastor oues
 ab hedis et statuit quidem oues ad
 extris suis haedos hautem asinistris
 tunc dicet rex his qui adextris ⁹ [eius]

30 ¹⁰ sunt uenite benedicti patris mei
 percipite regnum quod uobis paratum
 est ab initio mundi essuriui enim et
 dedistis mihi manducare sitiui et
 dedistis mihi bibere hospis

35 eram et colligistis me
 nudus et operuistis me
 infirmus et uisitastis me
 in carcere ¹¹ fui et uenistis ad me
 tunc respondebunt ¹² ei iusti dicentes domine quando te

¹ Expuncted.² Added in margin, uidetur.³ The last letter expuncted and re substituted (above the line).⁴ Erased : in margins and over erasure,
ab eo :, | Et inutilis.⁵ Expuncted.⁶ pro erased.⁷ Expuncted.⁸ Above the line, eos.⁹ Erased : over the erasure and project-
ing into margin erunt.¹⁰ Erased.¹¹ Above the line, eram.¹² Apparently expuncted.

S. MATT. XXV. 37—XXVI. 8.

f. 47 r. a.

[uidim]us essurientem et pauimus ¹ té aut siti
 [entem] et potauimus té quando té uidimus
 hospitem et suscipimus té aut nudum et co
 operimus te ² uel quando té uidimus infirm
⁵ um ³ et in carcere et uenimus adte et res
 pondit rex dicet illis amen dico uobis
 quandiu fecistis uni ex fratribus
 meís minimis mihi fecistis tunc dicet hís
 qui asinistris eius erunt discidete ámé
¹⁰ maledicti in ignem aëternum quem præpa
 rauit pater meus diabulo et angelis eius
 esuriui enim et non dedistis mihi manduca
 re sitiui et non dedistis mihi potum
 hospis eram et non collegistis me
¹⁵ nudus eram et non operuistis me
 infirmus et in carcere fui et non uisi
 tastis me tunc respondebunt ei et ipsi dicen
 tes domine quando te uidimus esurientem
 aut sitientem aut hospitem aut nudum aut infir
²⁰ mum uel in carcere et non ministraui
 mus tibi tunc respondet eis dicens amen
 dico uobis quandiu non fecistis uni
 deminoribus hís nec mihi fecistis tunc
 ibunt isti in ignem aëternum iusti hautem in uitam eternam
²⁵ Et factum est cum consumasset ih̄s ⁴ [omnia uerba
 haec] ⁴ dixit discipulis suis * scitis quia post biduum
 pasca fiet et filius hominis tradetur uteru
 cificatur * tunc congregati sunt principes
 sacerdotum et seniores populi in atrí
³⁰ um principis sacerdotum qui uocabatur
 caifas et consilium fecerunt ut ih̄m dolo
 tenerent et occiderent ⁵ dice[- -]bant
 hautem non in die festo né forte tumul
 tus fieret in populo * cum hautem ⁶ ih̄s ⁷ esset
³⁵ in bethania in domu simonis læpro
 si accedens ad eum mulier habens al
 abastrum ungenti prætiosi et infudit
 super caput eius recumbente ipso
 qui cum uidissent hautem discipuli indignati sunt

¹ Expuncted (but see note).² Expuncted: in margin, aut.³ Expuncted: apparently there is a marginal reading, indicated by the sign '|, but if so it is illegible.⁴⁻⁴ Erased: over the erasure and project-ing into the margins, sermones hos|omnes.⁵ About two letters erased.^{6, 7} Marked for transposition.

S. MATT. xxvi. 8-27.

f. 47 r. b.

dicentes ut quid perditio hæc potuit
 enim uenundari prætioso mu
 lto et dari pauperibus sciens
 hautem ih̄s ait illis quid molesti estis mulieri
 5 bonum opus operata est in me nam semper pau
 peres habebistis uobiscum mé hautem non semper
 habe¹[bitis * ecce enim mittens]¹ unguentum hoc in
 corpus meum ad sepeliendum me fecit amen
 dico uobis ut ubicumque prædicatum fuerit hoc
 10 euangelium intoto mundo dicetur et quod hæc fecit
 in memoriam ipsius * tunc abit unus de duode
 cim qui² dic[e]batur iudas scarioth ad princi
 pes sacerdotum et ait illis quid uultis mihi
 dare et ego uobis eum tradam at illi consti
 15 tuerunt ei triginta argenteos et exinde
 querebat oportunitatem ut eum traderet
 Pri ma hautem die³ azimorum accesserunt discipuli ad
 ih̄m dicentes ubi uis paremus tibi⁴ manducare
 pasca at ih̄s dixit ite in ciuitatem ad quen
 20 dam et dicite ei magister dicit tempus meum propeest
 apudtē facio pascha cum discipulis meis et fe
 cerunt discipuli sicut præcipit eis ih̄s et paruerunt
 pascha uespere hautem facto discumbebat
 cum duodecim discipulis *⁵ [et]⁶ manducanti
 25 bus illis dixit amen dico uobis quia unus uestrum
 me⁷ traditur * et contristati sunt⁸ nimis cepe
 runt siguli dicere numquid ego sum domine * [at]
 ipse respondens⁹ dixit qui intinguit mecum manum
 in parabside hic mé³ tradit¹⁰ et filius
 30 quidem hominis¹¹ tradetur sicut scriptum est¹² *
 uæ hautem homini illi per quem filius hominis tra
 detur bonum erat¹³ [non nasci homini illi * respondens]¹³
 hautem iudas qui¹⁴ traditu[rus] eum¹⁵ [erat di]xit¹⁵ num
 quid ego sum rabbi ait illi¹⁰ ih̄s tú dixisti *
 35 i[psis hautem manducantibus]¹⁶ ³ accipit ih̄s
 panem¹⁷ benedixit¹⁸ et fregit et dedit¹⁹ disci
 pulis suis²⁰ dicens accipite¹⁰ et¹⁰ mandu
 cate hoc est enim corpus meum * et accipiens
 calicem gratias egit et dedit illis dicens

1-1 Erased : over erasure, tis : , Mittens enim hæc, followed by space.

2 e transformed by erasure into i; ba expuncted. The word is thus chan
ged to dicitur. ³ i changed into e.

4 Expuncted : above the line, comedere.

5 Erased : above the line, Et.

6 Above the line, edentibus.

7 Above line, end of word us (see note).

8 Above the line, ualde.

9 Above the line, ait. ¹⁰ Expuncted.

11 Expuncted : above the line, uadit.

12 Added in margin, de illo.

13 Erased : over erasure ei si natus non fuisset homo ille, and in left margin opposite line 33, Respondens.

14 tu changed into di : rus erased, and over the erasure t, the word being thus altered to tradidit.

15-15 Erased : over the erasure, dixit.

16-16 Erased : over the erasure, Cœnanti
bus hautem eis, followed by space.

17 Above the line, et. ¹⁸ Above line, ac.

19 Above the line is added, que.

20 Expuncted : above the line, et ait.

S. MATT. xxvi. 27-44.

f. 47 v. a.

bibete ex hoc omnes hic est enim san
 guis meus noui testamen
 ti qui pro multis¹ effunditur in re
 misione peccatorum dico hautem uobis
 5² [quia] non bibam amodo de hoc genimine uitis us
 que in diem illum cum illud bibam uobiscum nouum
 in regno patris mei * [et] ymno dicto exi
 erunt in montem oliueti., * ff ni in me inista
Tunc dicit illis ih̄s omnes uos scandalum patiemi
 10 noce * scribtum est enim percutiam pastorem
 et dispergentur oves gregis³ resurrexero
 præcedam uos in⁴ galieam * respondens hautem petrus
 dixit si omnes scandalizabuntur in té ego
 enim numquam scandalizabor dicit illi ih̄s am
 15 en dico tibi quoniam hác nocte antequam gallus
 cantet ter mé negabis *⁵ dicit illi petrus⁶ si
 oportuerit me mori técum non té ne
 gabo similiter et omnes discipuli dixerunt * tunc ue
 nit⁷ cum illis⁷ ih̄s in⁸ agrum qui⁹ dicitur¹⁰ gedzamani *
 20¹¹ [et] dixit discipulis suis sedete híc donec uadam
 illúc et¹² horem et adsumpto petro et du
 obus filiis zebdei cepit contristari
 et mestus esse * tunc¹³ dicit illis¹⁴ ih̄s tristis est ani
 ma mea usque admortem sustinete híc
 25 et uigilate mecum * et progressus pussillum¹⁵
 16 ce[ci]dit in faciem suam orans et dicens pater
 sí possibile est transeat ámé calix
 17 [iste * sed]¹⁷ tamen non¹⁸ quod ego uolo séd¹⁸ quod tu uis * [et]
 uenit ad discipulos suos et inuenit eos dormi
 30 entes et dixit petro sic non potuistis unam
 horam uigelare mecum uigilate et orate
 ut non intretis intemtationem * spiritus quidem
 prumptus est caro hautem in firma *¹⁹ [abiit] hautem
 20²⁰ [iterum] et orauit dicens pater mí non potest
 35 calix transire a mé nisi bibam illum
 fiat uoluntas uenit iterrum et inuenit eos
 dormientes erant enim oculi eorum graua
 ti et relinquens eos iterrum abiit et orauit

¹ i altered into e.² erased?³ In marg. is added, postquam hautem.⁴ Above the line (over e), l.⁵ Expuncted: above the line, ait.⁶ In margin is added, etiam.^{7-7,8} Marked for transposition.⁹⁻⁹ Above line uillam que.¹⁰ d expuncted.¹¹ Erased: over erasure Et. ¹² h erased.¹³ Above the line, ait.¹⁴ Expuncted.¹⁵ In margin, pro. ¹⁶ ci erased.
¹⁷⁻¹⁷ Erased: over erasure, Uerum, followed by space • iste is re-written in margin after calix.¹⁸ Expuncted: above the line, sicut (bis).¹⁹ Erased: over erasure, Iterum.²⁰ Erased: over erasure abiit, followed by space.

S. MATT. xxvi. 44-58.

f. 47 v. b.

tertio eundem sermonem * [tunc uenit ad discipulos]
 suos et dicit ¹ eis dormite iam et requiescite
 ecce adpropinquauit hora et filius hominis
 tradetur in manus peccatorum surgite
 5 eamus ecce adpropinquauit qui mé tradet *
 adhuc ipso loquente ecce iudas unus
 ex duodecim uenit et cumeo plurima mul-
 titudo cum gladiis et fustibus misi aprinci-
 pibus sacerdotum et senioribus populi *
 10 qui hautem tradidit ² eum dedit ³ illis signum dicens
 quem ⁴ osculatus fuero ipse est tenete
 eum et confestim accedens ad ih̄m dixit ⁵ [h]aué
 rabbi et osculatus est eum ⁶ cui dixit ⁷ ih̄s am-
 ice ad quod uenisti fac tunc accesserunt
 15 et manus iniecerunt in ih̄m et tenuerunt eum *
 et ecce unus ex his qui erant cum ih̄m exten-
 dit manum et exemit gladium suum et per-
 cussit serum principis sacerdotum
 et amputauit auriculam eius * tunc ait illi
 20 ih̄s conuerte gladium tuum in locum suum omnes
 enim qui ⁸ accipiunt gladium in gladio peri-
 bunt an putas quia non possum modo
 rogare patrem meum et exibet mihi modo
 plusquam xii milia legiones angelorum
 25 quomodo ergo implebuntur scribturæ quia
 sic oportet fieri * in illa hora dixit ih̄s
⁹ ad ¹⁰ turbas quasi ad latronem uenistis cum
 gladiis et fustibus conpræchendere mé
 cotidie apud uos sedebam intempo-
 30 docens et non mé tenuistis * hoc hautem totum fac-
 tum est ut ¹¹ inpleretur scribturæ profetarum
 tunc discipuli ¹² [eius] omnes relicto eo fugierunt *
¹³ illi ¹⁴ [hautem] tenentes ih̄m perduxerunt ad caifán
 principem sacerdotum ubi scribae et
 35 seniores ¹⁵ conuenerunt * petrus hautem sequebatur
 eum alongue usque in atrium principis sa-
 cerdotum et ingressus ¹⁶ intus in ¹⁷ atrio

¹ Above the line, illis.² Above the line, illum.³ Above the line, eis.⁴ Above the line, cumque.⁵ h erased.⁶ Expuncted.⁷ Added in margin, que illi.⁸ Altered into acciper int by erasure.⁹ Expuncted.¹⁰ Above the line (over a), i.¹¹ Above the line, ad, and (over et)n., theword being thus changed to adin-
plerentur.¹² Erased.¹³ In margin, At.¹⁴ Erased.¹⁵ Above the line (over last syllable) a ;
the word being apparently intended
to be read conuenerant.¹⁶ us expuncted : above the line, tro.¹⁷ Expuncted.

S. MATT. xxvi. 58-71.

f. 48 r. a.

[sede]bat cum ministris utuideret ¹ exitum
² [rei * pri]ncip[e]s ² ³ sacerdotum et ⁴ uniuersum
 concilium querebant falsum testi
 monium ⁵ aduersus ih̄m ut eum morti tra
 5 derent et non inuenierunt ⁶ in ⁶ eo ⁶ quicquam cummulti
 falsi testes accessissent * nouissimæ
 hautem uenerunt duo falsi testes et dixerunt
 audiuiimus hunc dixisse possum
 distruere templum hoc et post tridu
 10 um ædificare illud et surgens
 princeps sacerdotum ait illi nihil
 respondes ad ea que isti testifican
 tur aduersus té ih̄s hautem tacebat et res
 pondens princeps sacerdotum dixit
 15 illi adiuro té per deum uiuum utdi
 cas nobis sí tú es xp̄c filius dei
 et dicit illi ih̄s tú dixisti * uerumtamen dico
 uobis amodo uidebitis filium ho
 minis sedentem ⁷ ad ⁸ dexteram uir
 20 tutis et uenientem ⁹ in nubibus cæli *
 tunc princeps sacerdotum scidit uesti
 menta sua dicens ¹⁰ blasphemat quid ¹³ nunc
 adhuc ¹¹ opus est testibus * ecce nunc au
 distis blasphemam quid uobis uidetur
 25 at illi ¹² responderunt ⁶ omnes ⁶ et dixerunt reus est
 mortis * tunc expuerunt ¹³ in faciem eius et co
 laphis eum cæderunt ¹⁴ alí hautem palmas
 in faciem ¹⁶ eius dederunt dicentes prophe
 tiza nobis xp̄e quis est qui té ¹⁵ percusset *
 30 petrus ¹⁶ [hautem] sedebat foris in atrio
 et accessit ad eum una ⁶ ex ¹⁷ ancillis
¹⁸ dixit ⁶ illi et tú cum ih̄u galileo eras at
 ille negauit coram omnibus dicens
 nescio quid dicis ⁶ neque ⁶ intellego* [ex]
 35 eunte ⁶ hautem illo ianuam uidit eum alia
⁶ anc ella et ait ¹⁹ illis qui erantibi

¹ Above the line, finem.²⁻² The letters enclosed in brackets erased:
in right margin, after l. 1, rei ;
and over erasure, followed by space,
Pri : the second i of principes is
transformed into e and e erased, the
word being thus changed to prin
ceps.³ Above the line is inserted hautem.⁴ Above the line, omne.⁵ Above the line, contra. ⁶ Expuncted.⁷ d erased.⁸ am erased : over erasure, is.⁹ Expuncted : above the line, cum.¹⁰ Above the line, before t, ui.¹¹ Above the line, egemus.¹² In margin (indicated as following n),
tes : the intention being that the
ambiguous respōn should be read as
a present participle respondentes.¹³ Erased. ¹⁴ i added at end.¹⁵ The second e expuncted, and above it, i.¹⁶ Changed, partly by erasure, to uero.¹⁷ is changed, partly by erasure, to a.¹⁸ x transformed by partial erasure,
into c ; s added above the line ; the
word being thus altered to dicens.¹⁹ Expuncted : under the line, his.

S. MATT. xxvi. 71–xxvii. 10.

f. 48 r. b.

et hic erat cum ihū nazareno ¹ iterum nega
 uit cum iuramento ² dixit quia non noui hominem
 et post pussillum accesserunt qui stabant et
 dixerunt petro uere tú ex illis es nam
 5 et loquella tua manifestum té facit
 tunc cæpit detestare et iurare quia non nos
 set hominem et ³ statim gallus cantauit *
⁴ et recordatus est petrus uerbi ihū quod
 dixerat prius quam gallus cantet ter
 10 mé negabis egredes foras ⁵ ama
 rissime ⁶ fleuit * mane hautem ⁷ [cum] ⁸ factum ⁷ [esse]t
 consilium ⁹ [fe]cerunt omnes principes sacer
 dotum et seniores ¹⁰ plebis ¹¹ aduersus ihm
 ut eum morti traderent et uinctum ⁵ eum
 15 ⁶ adduxerunt * et tradiderunt pontio py
 lato præssidi * tunc ¹² uedens iudas qui ⁵ eum
⁶ tradidit ¹³ quonia[m] damnatus est penetentia
 ductus retulit triginta argenteos
 principibus sacerdotum et senioribus
 20 dicens peccauit ⁷ quod ¹⁴ tradider[im] sangui
 nem iustum at illi dixerunt quid ad nós
 tú uideris et projectis argenteis in
 templo ¹⁵ processit et ¹⁶ laqueo ⁵ suspendit ⁶ se
² tunc principes ¹⁷ sacerdotum accepteis ar
 25 genteis dixerunt non licet eos mittere in
 curbán ² hoc ² est ² in ² oblationem quia prætium san
 guinis est consilio hautem ¹⁸ facto ² intersé emerunt
 ex illis ² hautem agrum figuli in sepulturam per
 igrinorum propter hoc cognominatus est ager
 30 ille acheldemath quod est ager sangui
 nis usque in hodiernum diem tunc ¹⁹ [ad]inpletum
 est quod dictum est per heremiam profetam dicen
 tem et acciperunt triginta argenteos
 prætium adprætiati ²⁰ quod adprætiauerunt ²¹ filiis
 35 israhel et dederunt eos in agrum figuli sicut constituit
 mihi dominus . . . *

¹ Above the line, et.² Expuncted.³ Expuncted : above the line, continuo.⁴ Altered into Et.⁵⁻⁶ Marked for inversion. ⁷ Erased.

■ The line representing m erased ; u altered into o.

⁹ fec erased : over the erasure, ini.¹⁰ Above the line, populi.¹¹ A line drawn over second u, and s expuncted : the word being thus changed to aduersum.¹² The first e changed into i.¹³ m and the mark of abbreviation erased, and the remainder altered into quia.¹⁴ di erased, ri altered to ns, the word thus becoming tradens.¹⁵ pro expuncted : above the line, re.¹⁶ Above the line, abiens.¹⁷ Above the line, hautem.¹⁸ Expuncted : above the line, inito.¹⁹ ad erased.²⁰ Expuncted, above the line, quem.²¹ Above the line, a.

S. MATT. xxvii. 11-26.

f. 48 v. a.

[ih]s hautem stetit ante presidem et interrogavit
 eum¹ præsis dicens tú es rex iudeorum dicit ei
 ih̄s tú dicis * et cum accusaretur áprincipi
 bus sacerdotum et senioribus nihil resp
 5 ondebat tunc dicit² ei pylatus non audis
 quanta³ aduersum té⁴ testificantur et non
 5 respondit ei⁶ ullum uerbum ita utmira
 retur⁷ præsis⁸ multum * per diem⁹ sollemnem¹⁰ consu
 etudo erat¹⁰¹¹ præsis dimittere populo
 10 unum uinctum quem uoluissernt * habebant hautem
 tunc¹² uintum insignem qui dicebatur barabas
 congregatis illis dixit pylatus quem uultis
 uobis dimittam barabán án ih̄m qui
 dicitur xps sciebat enim quod per inuidiam tra
 15 diderunt eum * sedente hautem illo protribunali
 missit ad¹³ eum uxor eius dicens nihil¹⁴ sit¹⁵ tibi
 et iusto illi multa¹⁶ passa sum hodie
 per uisum propter¹⁷ eum *¹⁸ princeps hautem sacerdotum
 et seniores persuaserunt populo utpe
 20 terent barabán ih̄m hautem perdirent
 respondens hautem præsis ait illis quem uultis de
 duobus dimittam uobis at illi dixerunt ba
 rabán * dicit illis pilatus¹⁹ qui ergo¹⁹²⁰ faci[am de]²⁰
 ih̄u qui dicitur xps dicunt omnes crucifigatur
 25 ait²¹ pilatus quid enim mali fecit at illi
 magis clamabant²² dicentes cruci
 figatur * uidens hautem pylatus quia²³ ni[c]hil²⁴ pro
 ficit sed magis tumultus²⁵ fierit in²⁶ po
 pulo accepta aqua²⁷ lauauit manus
 30 suas dicens²⁸ coram populo²⁹ innocens ego
 sum ásanguine huius³⁰ uós uideritis
 et respondens uniuersus populus dixit sa
 nguis³¹ huius super nós et super filios nos
 tros * tunc dimisit illis barabán
 35 ih̄m hautem flagillatum tradidit eis

¹ i altered into e. ² Above the line, illi.³ Above the line, over the final letter, s.⁴ Above the line, dicant testimonia.⁵ Above the line, at end of word, dit.⁶ Below the line, ad. ⁷ i altered to e.⁸ In margin, uel uehimenter.⁹ Above the line, hautem.¹⁰⁻¹⁰ Expuncted : above the line, con
suerat.¹¹ i changed into e.¹² Above the line (over n), c.¹³ Expuncted : above the line, illum.^{14, 15} Marked for transposition.¹⁶ Above line, enim. ¹⁷ Above line, illum.¹⁸ Above the line (after ep), e.¹⁹⁻¹⁹ Altered into quid igitur (see note).²⁰⁻²⁰ am de erased : over erasure and in
margin at beginning of next line,
emus | de (see note).²¹ Above the line, illis præses.²² Expuncted.²³ c erased (see note).²⁴ Above the line (over final syllable), er.²⁵ The second i altered into e.²⁶ Expuncted. ²⁷ ua expuncted.²⁸⁻²⁸ Expuncted. ²⁹ Above line, dicens.³⁰ Above the line, iusti.³¹ Expuncted : above the line, eius.

S. MATT. xxvii. 26-40.

f. 48 v. b.

ut ¹ eum ² crucifigeret * tunc milites præs[idis]
³ duxerunt ihm in prætorium ⁴ et congregauerunt
ad eum uniuersam cohortem ⁵ et uestier[unt]
eum tonicam porpoream ⁵ et ⁶ calamidem
5 cocciniam circumdederunt ei ⁷ plectentes
coronam despinis possuerunt super
capud eius et arundinem in dexteram eius
et genu flexu ante eum ⁸ adorabant
dicentes áue réx iudeorum * ⁹[et expuerunt
10 in faciem] eius ⁹ ¹⁰[et] acciperunt arundinem
et percutiebant capud eius et postquam in
luserunt ei exuerunt eum calamidem coc
ciniam induerunt eum uestimentis eius
duixerunt eum ut crucifigerent ¹¹ eum *
15 exeentes hautem inuenerunt hominem ¹² ciri
nensem ¹³ uenientem obiam illi ¹³ nomine
simonem hunc angarizauerunt ¹⁴
¹⁵ tollere crucem eius * et uenerunt in locum qui
dicitur golgotha quod est caluarie locus *
20 ¹⁶ et dederunt ei uinum bibere cum felle.
mixtum et cum gustasset noluit bibe
re * postquam ¹⁷ crucifixerunt eum di
uiserunt uestimenta eius sortem mit
tentis ¹⁸ utinpleretur quod dictum est per pro
25 fetam diuiserunt sibi uestimenta
mea et super uestem meam miserunt
sortem ¹⁸ et sedentes ¹⁹ [ob]seruaba
nt eum * et ²⁰ possuerunt super capud eius
causam ²¹ illius ²² inscribtam hic est ²³ rex
30 iudeorum * tunc ²⁴ crucifix[e]runt cum eo ²⁵ duos
latrones ²⁶ unu[m] adextris et ²⁷ [alter]u[m]
asinistris * ²⁸ tunc euntes ²⁸ blasphema
bant eum mouentes capita sua et
dicentes ua qui ²⁹ distruebas templum
35 dei etinriduo illud ³⁰ reædi ficabás

¹ Expuncted. ² Final lett. altered to tur.³ Expuncted : above the line, suscipientes.⁴ Expuncted. ^{5,5} Expuncted.⁶ Above line, exuentes. ⁷ Above line, et.⁸ Expuncted : above the line, inludebant.⁹⁻⁹ Erased : over erasure, and extending
into right margin, Et exspuen | tes
in eum, followed by space.¹⁰ Erased. ¹¹ Erased.¹² nensem expuncted ; the second i changed
into e ; in right margin, neum : the
word being thus altered to circeneum.¹³⁻¹³ Expuncted. ¹⁴ Added in marg., ut.¹⁵ Added at end, t. ¹⁶ Changed into Et.¹⁷ Above the line, hautem.¹⁸⁻¹⁸ Expuncted, and a line drawn down
left margin.¹⁹ ob erased. ²⁰ Above the line, in.²¹ Expuncted : above the line, ipsius.²² in erased. ²³ Above the line, ih̄s.²⁴ Altered to crucifixi sunt.²⁵ Last letter erased.²⁶ Horizontal line (indicating m) erased,
under the line, s.²⁷ alter and line over u erased, nus
added in margin.²⁸⁻²⁸ Expuncted : over the line, præter-
euntes hautem.²⁹ ebas expuncted : over the line, it.³⁰ bas expuncted : over the line, it.

S. MATT. xxvii. 40-54.

f. 49 r. a.

[saluu]m fac temet ipsum. si filius dei es
 [di]scende decruce * similiter et princi
 [pe]s sacerdotum ¹ inludentes cum scribis
 et senioribus ² et dicebant ² alios saluos
 5 fecit se ipsum non potest saluum facere
 si rex israhel ³ es ⁴ descend[e] nunc decruce
 et cred emus ei ⁵ confidat in ⁶ domin[um] ⁷ iam li
 beret ⁸ eum si uult ⁹ [eum * dixit] ⁹ enim quia ¹⁶ filius ¹⁷ dei
 sum id ipsum hautem et latrones qui crucifixi
 10 erant cum eo improperabant ei., *

¹⁰ A b ora hautem ¹⁰ sexta ¹¹ tenebre factae sunt
 superuniuersam terram usque ad horam
^{11a} [nonam] * circa ⁷ [hautem] horam ¹² clamauit
 ih̄s uoce magna dicens ¹³ helī helī ¹³ la
 15 mazabathan. i. hoc est ⁷ [deus] deus meus ¹⁵
 ut quid ¹⁶ me ¹⁷ dereliquisti . quidam hautem illic
 stantes et audientes dicebant he
 liam uocat iste * et continuo curr
 ens unus ex eis acceptam ¹⁸ spungiam
 20 inplebit aceto et inpossuit ¹⁹ arun
 dinem et dabat ei bibere * [c]æteri uero
 dicebant ²⁰ sine[te] ²¹ uidiamus ²² si ²³ uenit
 helias ²⁴ et saluet ²⁴ eum ²⁵ aliis hautem accipit
 lanciam et pupunguit latus eius et exit
 25 aqua et sanguis ²⁵ ih̄s hautem iterrum ²⁶ exclau
 mauit uoce magna ⁷ [et]emissit spiritum *
 et ecce uelum templi scisum est in duas
 partes a summo usque ²⁷ ad deorsum *
²⁸ [et] ²⁹ terra ³⁰ mot[us] ²⁷ factus ²⁷ est ²⁷ magnus et petre
 30 scisæ sunt et monumenta aperta sunt
 et ³¹ corpora sanctorum ³² domientium sur
 rexerunt et exeunte demonumentis
 post resurrectionem ³³ ipsius uenerunt
 in sanctam ciuitatem et ¹⁶ multis ¹⁷ appa
 35 ruerunt * ³⁴ [c]entorio hautem et qui cum eo erant

¹ ntes expuncted : above the line, bant eum.²⁻² Expuncted : above the line, dicentes.³ t added at end of word.⁴ Final letter erased : over erasure, at.⁵ a expuncted, i above it.⁶ Final letter of dn̄m erased : over eras
ure, o, followed by slight space.⁷ Erased. ⁸ Above the line, nunc.⁹⁻⁹ Erased : over the erasure, DIXIT,
followed by space.¹⁰⁻¹⁰ Exp., save A.¹¹ Above line, hautem hora.^{11a} nonam erased : over eras. Et, fol
lowed by space ; nonam re-written
in marg. opposite l. 12.¹² Above the line, nonam.¹³⁻¹³ Points are inserted before and after
i in each of these words, and in the
margin is written hel. i. hel. i.¹⁴ Above the line (after ba), c.¹⁵ Added in margin, deus meus.^{16, 17} Marked for transposition.¹⁸ u altered to o, i to e. ¹⁹ em altered to i.²⁰ te erased. ²¹ Second i altered to e.²² Expuncted : above the line, an.²³ Above line (after i), a.²⁴⁻²⁴ Expuncted : above the line, liberare.²⁵⁻²⁵ Expuncted, and a line drawn down
left margin.²⁶ ex erased, ui altered to ns, t erased.²⁷ Expuncted. ²⁸ Erased : over eras. Et.²⁹ Altered by erasure to terra.³⁰ us erased : over eras. a ; above line, est.³¹ Above the line, multa.³² Expuncted : above the line, qui dor

mierant.

³³ Expuncted : above the line, eius.³⁴ Above the line (over first o), u.

S. MATT. xxvii. 54-66.

f. 49 r. b.

custodientes ih̄m¹ cum uidissent terræ
 motum et ea¹ quæ fiebant timuerunt ualde
 dicentes uere dei filius erat iste * erant
 hautem ibi mulieres multæ à longe uiden
 5 tes quæ secute² fuerant ih̄m agalilia
 ministrantes³ illi inter quás erat maria
 magdalenæ et maria iacobi et ioseph
 et mater filiorum zebedei * [cum sero hautem esset]⁴
 factum⁵ uenit quidam homo diues ab ari
 10 mathea nomine ioseph qui et ipse
 discipulus erat ih̄u hic⁶ accedesset
 ad pilatum et petit corpus ih̄u * [tunc py]
 latus iusit dari corpus⁷ ih̄u et cum⁷
 8 accipisset ioseph⁹ corpus ih̄u⁹ inuol
 15 uit illud in sindone munda et possuit
 illud in monumento suo nouo quod exci
 derat in petra et aduoluit saxum
 magnum ad¹⁰ hostium monumenti et¹¹ dis
 cessen * erat hautem ibi maria * magda
 20 lena et altera maria sedentes contra sepulchrum *
 A ltera hautem die quæ est post parasceu[n] con
 uenerunt principes sacerdotum et pha
 risei ad pylatum dicentes domine reme
 morati sumus quod seductor ille dixit
 25 adhuc uiuens post tres dies resurgam
 iubé ergo custodiri sepulchrum usque in
 diem tertium ne forte ueniant discipuli
 eius et furentur eum et dicant plebi sur
 rexit amortuüs et erit nouissimus
 30 error peior¹² priori ait illis pyla
 tus habetis¹³ milites ite custodite
 sicut¹⁴ ipsi scitis illi hautem¹⁵ munierunt sæpul
 chrum¹⁶ [et]¹⁷ signa[uerunt] lapidem¹⁸ et disces
 serunt¹⁸ cum custodibus . — *

¹⁻¹ *Expuncted*: above l. 1, uiso terræ
motu et his.

² fu *expuncted*.

³ *Expuncted*: above the line, ei.

⁴⁻⁴ *Erased*: over erasure, Cum sero hau-
tem, followed by space.

⁵ Above the line, esset.

⁶ Above the line (over second e), i.

⁷⁻⁷ *Expuncted*.

⁸ et before accip. in margin; first i
transformed into e; isset expuncted;
above line, to corpore.

⁹⁻⁹ *Expuncted*.

¹⁰ l *expuncted*.

¹¹ *Expuncted*: above the line, abiit.

¹² Final i changed to e.

¹³ Above line, custodiam.

¹⁴ *Expuncted*.

¹⁵ Above the line, abeuntes.

¹⁶ *Erased*.

¹⁷ ue altered into nt; runt erased and
replaced by es followed by space.

¹⁸⁻¹⁸ *Expuncted*.

* Altered to magdalenæ.

S. MATT. xxviii. 1-4.

f. 49 v. a.

[Ues]pere hautem sabbati quæ lucescit in prima
[s]abbati uenit maria magdalena
[et] altera maria uidere sæpulch
rum et ecce terræ motus factus est magnus
5 angelus enim domini descendit decælo et
accedens reuoluit lapidem et sede
bat super eum erat hautem aspectus eius sicut fulgor
et uestimenta eius candida sicut nix præ timo

S. LUC. iv. 5.

f. 58 r. b.

25 in **omni** uerbo dei et duxit illum iterum
zabulus inmontem excelsum
ualde *et*¹ ostendit ei omnia

¹ e is written above i

S. Luc. iv. 5-16.

f. 58 v. a.

regna mundi inmomento tem
 poris et ait ei tibi dabo potesta
 tem hanc uniuersam et gloriā
 ipsorum quia mihi tradita sunt et cui
 5 uoluero do illa tu ergo si adora
 ueris me erunt omnia tua et re
 spondens ih̄s dixit illi scriptum est enim
 dominum deum tuum adorabis et illi
 seruies et duxit eum in hirusalem
 10 et statuit eum supra pinnam tem
 pli et dixit ei si filius dei es mitte
 té hinc deorsum scriptum est
 enim quoniam angelis suis mandauit
 deté ut custodiant té quia in
 15 manibus suis tollent té né for
 te offendas ad lapidem pedem
 tuum et respondens ih̄s ait illi scrip
 tum est non temptabis dominum deum tuum
 et consummata omni temptati
 20 one zabulus recessit ab eo
 usque adtempus., * /: ingalileam
 Et egressus est ih̄s inuirtute spiritus
 et fama exīt per uniuersam regi
 onem deillo, et ipse docebat
 25 insinagogis eorum et magnifica
 batur ab omnibus., * /: tritus
 Et uenit nazareth ubi erat nu
 et intrauit secundum consuetudinem

S. Luc. iv. 16-24.

f. 58 v. b.

suam die sabbati insinagogam
 et surrexit legere et traditus est
 illi liber esaiæ profetæ et utre
 uoluit librum inuenit locum ubiest
 5 scriptum spiritus domini super mé propter
 quod uncexit mé euangelizare
 pauperibus misit me prædicare
 captiuis remisionem et cecís ui
 sum dimittere confractos inre
 10 misione prædire annum domini
 acceptum et diem retributionis
 et complicuit librum et reddidit
 ministro et sedit et omnium insi
 nagoga erant oculi intendententes
 15 ineum cœpit hautem dicere ad illos iam
 hodie inpletaest scriptura
 hæc in auribus uestris.— *

Et omnes ¹ illi ² testimonium dabant
 et mirabantur inuerbis gratiæ
 20 quæ procedebant deore ipsius
 et dicebant nonne hic est filius io
 [seph * et] ait illis utique dicitis mihi,
 hanc similitudinem medice curá
 té ipsum quanta audiuimus fac
 25 ta incafarnauum fác hic et in
 patria tua, * [a]it hautem ³ ih̄s amen
 dico uobis quia nemo profeta acc
 eptus est inpatria sua *

^{1, 2} Marked for transposition| ³ Expuncted.

S. Luc. iv. 25-34.

f. 59 r. a.

1 [in] ueritate dico uobis multæ
 uiduæ erant in diebus heliæ in
 israhel quando clusum est cælum
 annis tribus et mensibus sex cum
 5 facta est famæ magna in omni
 terra et adnullam illarum misus est
 heleas nisi in sarepta sidoniæ ad
 mulierem uiduam et multi lepro
 si in israhel erant sub heleseo pro
 10 feta et nemo illorum mundatus est
 nisi neman syrus et repleti sunt
 omnes ira insinagoga hæc audien
 tes et surrexerunt et iecerunt illum
 extra ciuitatem et duxerunt illum usque
 15 ad supracilium montis supra
 quem ciuitas illorum erat ædifi
 cata utpræcipitarent eum ipse
 hautem transiens per medium illorum ibat *
 2 [et] descendit cafarnauum ciuita
 20 tem galileæ ibique docebat illos
 sabbatis * et stupebant in doctri
 na eius quia in potestate erat ser
 mo ³ ipsius * /: nium inmundum
 Et in sinagoga ⁴ erat homo habens dæmo
 25 et exclamauit uoce magna
 dicens quid nobis et tibi ihū naza
 rene uenisti perdere nós

¹ This word is apparently erased, and
IN written in the margin.

² Erased : in margin, Et.

³ Above the line, eius.

⁴ Above the line, eorum

S. LUC. IV. 34-42.

f. 59 r. b.

scio¹ qui sis² sanctus dei et increpauit
 illum ih̄s dicens obmutesce et exi
 ab illo et cum proiecisset illum demo
 nium inmedium exit abillo n[ih̄lque]
 5 nocuit illum et factus est pauor
 magnus in omnes et conloquebantur
 ad inuicem dicentes quis est iste
 sermo quod in potestate et uirtute
 imperat inmundis spiritibus
 10 et exeunt et deuulgabatur fama
 deillo in omnem locum regionis . . — *
 S urgens hautem³ ih̄s desinagoga intra
 uit indomum simonis socrus
 hautem simonis tenebatur magnis
 15 febribus et rogauerunt illum pro ea
 et stans super illam imperauit
 febri et dimisit eam et continuo
 surrexit et ministrabat eis
 occidente hautem sole omnes qui habe
 20 bant infirmos uarisi langori
 bus adducebant illos ad eum at
 ille singulis manum ipponens
 curabat eos.— * /: mantia et di
 Ex iebant hautem etiam demonia cla
 25 centia qui tu es filius dei et increpans
 eos non sinebat eis loqui quia sciebant
 xpm ipsum esse.— * /: in desertum
 F acta hautem die proficiscens ibat

¹ Above the line, te.² Above the line, tu es.³ Expuncted.

S. Luc. iv. 42—v. 8.

f. 59 v. a.

*locum et turba requirebant eum et uene
runt usque ad ipsum et retinebant eum
né discederet abeis quibus ille ait
quia et aliis ciuitatibus oportet me
5 euangelizare regnum dei ¹ ad hoc enim ²
misus sum et erat prædicans insinago
gis galileæ.— * /; ut audirent
Factum est hautem cum turbæ inruerent in eum
uerbum dei et ipse stans secus stagnum
10 genezareth uidit duas naues
stantes secus stagnum piscatores
hautem exillis discenderant ut leuarent
retia sua ascendens hautem inunam
nauem quæ erat simonis rogauit
15 eum ut adduceret a terra aliqua
ntulum in altum etsedens denauit
cula turbas.— * /; duc in altum
Ut cessaunt hautem loqui dixit adsimonem
et laxate retia uestra in capturam
20 et respondens simon dixit ei præceptor
pertotam noctem laborantes nihil
coepimus sed in uerbo ³ tuo laxabo
⁴ retia et ⁵ ut hoc fecissent concluse
runt multitudinem piscium copi
25 osam ita utrumperentur retia eorum
tunc adnuerunt sociis suis qui erant
in alia naui ut uenirent et ad
iuuarent eos qui cum uenerunt reple
berunt ambas nauiculas ita
30 ⁶ ut mer[er]entur * ⁷ [hoc uiso simon] ⁸*

¹⁻² Expuncted : above the line, uel quia
ideo.

³ Above the line, hautem.

⁴ Expuncted : above the line, rete.

⁵ Expuncted : above the line, cum.

⁶ The second e in meregerentur erased.

⁷⁻⁸ Erased : over the erasure, Quod
cum uidere, and below the line,
simon petrus.

S. Luc. v. 8-16.

f. 59 v. b.

procedit ad genua ihū dicens rogo
 té exí amé quia homo peccator sum
 domine timor enim inuasserat illum
 et omnes qui cum illo erant in captura
 5 piscium quam cooperant similiter hautem ia
 cobum et iohannem filios zebedei qui erant
 socii simonis.— * /: ex hoc iam eris

Et ¹ dixit ad simonem ih̄s nolitimere
 homines capiens et subductis
 10 nauiculis interram relictis om
 nibus secuti sunt eum.— * /: et ecce uir
 Et factum est cum esset in una ciuitatum
 plenus lepra et ² ipse procedens
 infaciem ³ rogabat eum dicens ⁴ si
 15 uis ⁴ ⁵ domine potes me mundare
 et extendens manum ih̄s tetigit
 eum dicens uolo mundare et confes
 tim lepra eius discessit ab eo et ⁷ præ
 cipit illi ⁸ ih̄s ut nemini diceret
 20 ⁹ et dixit ⁹ ua de ¹⁰ et ostende té sacer
 doti et offer pro emundatione
 tua sicut præcipit moyses ut sit
 intestimonium illis.— * /: de eo ¹² et

Per ambulabat ¹¹ hautem magis sermo
 25 conuenebant turbæ multæ ut
 audirent et curarentur ab in
 firmitatibus suis * ipse hautem ¹³ se
 cessit in ¹⁴ desertum et orabat *

¹ Expuncted: above the line, ait.² Expuncted: above the line, uidens
ih̄m.³ ha expuncted: above the line, ui.^{4,4,5} Marked for transposition.⁶ Expuncted: above the line, illo.⁷ In margin, ipse.⁸ Expuncted.^{9,9} Expuncted: above the line, sed.¹⁰ Expuncted.¹¹ Expuncted.¹² Above the line, illo.¹³ In margin, uel secedebat.¹⁴ um expuncted: above the line, uel o.

S. LUC. V. 17-25.

f. 60 r. a.

Et factum est in una dierum et ipse¹ do
 cens et erant farisaei² et legis
 doctores qui uenerant ex omni
 castello galileæ et iudæ et hi
 5 erusalem et uirtus erat domini
 ad sanandos eos.— * /: in lecto
 Et ecce uiri portantes hominem
 qui erat paraliticus³ quærebant
 eum⁴ inducere et ponere ante eum
 10 et non inuenientes qua parte illum
 ponerent præturba ascenderunt
 supertectum et pertegulas summiserunt
 eum cum lecto ante ih̄m uidens hautem
 ih̄s fidem eorum dixit homini remisa
 15 sunt tibi peccata tua et coeperunt
 cogitare scribæ et farissei
 incordibus suis dicentes quis est hic
 qui loquitur blasphemiam quis potest
 dimittere peccata nisi solus
 20 deus sciens hautem ih̄s cogitationes
 eorum dixit ad eos quid cogitatis
 mala in cordibus uestris quod est
 facilius dicere remisa sunt
 tibi peccata tua aut dicere
 25 surge et ambula ut hautem sciatis
 quia filius hominis potestatem habet
 super terram dimittendi peccata
 dixit paralitico tibi dico surge
 et tolle grabatum tuum et uade
 30 in domum tuam et confestim

¹ Above the line, sedebat.² Above the line, sedentes.³ Above the line, et.⁴ Above the line, uel inferre.

S. Luc. v. 25-35.

f. 60 r. b.

surgens coram illis tulit in
 quo iacebat et abit in dom
 um suam magnificans dominum et
 stupor adprehendit omnes
 5 et magnificabant deum et re
 pleti sunt timore dicentes quia
 uidimus hodie mirabilia *

Et post haec exiit et uidit puplicanum
 nomine leui sedentem adtylon
 10 eum et ait illi sequere me et relic
 tis omnibus ¹ secutus est eum * [et fecit]
² illi leui ³ cænam magnam in domu
 sua et erat turba multa pupli
 canorum et aliorum discubentium
 15 et murmurauerunt farisaei
 et scribæ dicentes ad discipulos eius qua
 re cum puplicanis et peccatori
 bus ⁴ manducat et ⁵ bibit ⁶ magister
 uester ⁶ * ⁷ [et ⁸ r]espondit ih̄s ⁹ et dixit eis non
 20 egent qui sani sunt medico sed qui male
 habent non ueni uocare iustos sed
 peccatores in penitentia at
 illi dixerunt ei quare discipuli iohannis
 ieunant frequenter similiter
 25 et farissæorum et orationes
 faciunt tui hautem discipuli edunt
 et bibunt ait illis numquid
 possent filii sponsi ieuna
 re quam diu cum illis est sponsus
 30 uenient enim dies cum auferetur abeis

¹ Above the line, surgens.² Expuncted : over the line, ei.³ In margin, uel conuicuum mag.⁴ Above the line, at the end of the word,
uel is (sic).⁵ Above the line, over the final letter,
uel is.⁶⁻⁶ Expuncted.⁷ et r erased : over erasure, R.⁸ At the end of the word, above the line,
ens.⁹ Expuncted.

S. LUC. v. 35—vi. 4.

f. 60 v. a.

sponsus et tunc ieunabunt in illis diebus
Dixit hautem parabolam ad eos quia nemo
 commissuram deuestimento no
 uo committit in uestimentum
 5 uetus alioquin scindetur et ueteri
 non conueniet commisura noua
 et nemo mittit uinum nouum
 in ¹ utres ² ueteres alio quin ³ rum
 pet uinum nouum utres ⁴ ueteres
 10 et ipsum effundetur et utres peri
 bunt sed uinum nouum in utres
 nouos ponunt et utraque
 conseruantur et nemo bibens ue
 tus statim uult nouum dicit enim
 15 melius uetus est., * /: primo
 F actum est hautem in sabbato secundo
 cum transiret ih̄s per segitem uel
 lebant discipuli eius spicas et confri
 ngentes manibus manducab
 20 ant quidam hautem ex farisaeis di
 cebant eis quid facitis sab
 batis quod non licet et respondit ih̄s
 ad eos nec hoc legistis quid fece
 rit dauid cum essuriret ipse et
 25 qui cumeo erant quomodo intravit
 in domum dei et panes propossi
 tionis sumpsit et manduca
 uit et dedit eis qui cum eo erant

^{1, 2} Marked for transposition.³ Above the line (over e), i⁴ Expuncted.

S. Luc. vi. 4-14.

f. 60 v. b.

quos non licebat manducare
nisi solis sacerdotibus et dixit eis quia
*dominus est filius hominis etiam sabbati **

Factum est hautem in alio sabbato ut
 5 intraret in sinagoga et doce
 ret et erat homo ibi habens manum
 aridam dexteram obseruabant
 hautem scribæ et farisæi si in sa
 bbato curaret ut inuenirent

10 accussare eum ipse uero sciebat
 cogitationes eorum et ait homini qui
 habebat manum aridam surge
 et stá in medium et surrexit et
 stetit ait hautem ad eos ih̄s interrogo

15 uos s ilicet sabbatis bene
 facere aut male aut animam
 saluam facere aut perdere et cir
 cumspectis illis omnibus dixit homini
 extende manum tuam et extendens

20 manum restituta est manus eius sicut
 et altera ipsi hautem repleti sunt insipientia
 et conloquebantur ad inuicem quidnam
 facerent de ¹ homine * factum est hautem in
 illis diebus exiit in montem oilare

25 et erat pernoctans in oratione dei *
 [et] cum dies factus esset uocauit ad
 sé discipulos suos et elegit duodecim
 ex ipsis quos et apostolos nomi
 nauit simonem quem cognominauit

¹ Expuncted : above the line, ih̄s.

S. LUC. vi. 14-24.

[petrum et andream] fratrem eius et iaco
 [bum et ioh] annem et philippum et bar
 [th]alomeum et thomam et matheum
 et iacobum alfei et simonem qui uocatur
 5 zelotis et iudam iacobi et iudam
 scarioth qui fuit ¹ traditor * [et dis]
 cendiens cum eis in loco campestri
 stetit et turba discipulorum eius et multitudo
 copiosa plebis abomni iudea et
 10 hierusalem ettransfretum et ma
 ritimatiri et sidonis qui uenerant
 ut audirent eum et sanarentur alan
 goribus suis et qui uexabantur aspiri
 tibus inmundis curabantur et omnes
 15 turbæ querebant eum tangere quia
 uirtus deillo ² exi[e]bat et sanabat
 omnes * et ipse ³ adieuans ⁴ oculos
 5 ad discipulos suos dixit.—
 B eati pauperes ⁶ spiritu quia uestrum est reg
 20 num dei.— * /: turabemini.— *
 B eati qui nunc esuritis quia sa
 B eati qui nunc ⁷ lugitis ⁸ quoniam ridebitis.— *
 B eati eritis cum uos oderint homines
 et cum uos seperauerint et exprob
 25 raberint et iecerint nomen uestrum
 tamquam malum propter filium hominis gau
 dete in illa die et exultate ecce
 enim mercis uestra magna est in cæ
 lis secundum hæc enim faciebant profetis pa
 30 tres eorum * uerum tamen uæ uobis di
 uitibus qui habetis consultationem

¹ Above the line, uel pro.² The second e erased.³ Expuncted : above the line, eleuatis.⁴ Above the line (over the second o), i.⁵ Expuncted : above the line, in.⁶ Expuncted.⁷ Above the line, fletis.⁸ The last letter expuncted, and the remainder altered into quia.

S. Luc. vi. 25-34.

f. 61 r. b.

uestram uæ uobis qui saturati estis
 quia essurietis uæ uobis qui riditis nunc
 quia flebitis et lugebitis * uæ uobis cum
 benedixerint homines secundum hæc facie
 5 bant psedoprofetis patres eorum *
 sed uobis dico qui auditis diligite
 inimicos uestros et benefacite
 his qui uos odierunt benedicite ma-
 ledicentibus uobis orate pro calum-
 10 niantibus uobis * et qui te ¹ percusserit
 in maxillam præbe illi et alteram et ei
 qui aufert tibi tonicam etiam pallium
 noli prohibere omni petenti té
 tribue et qui aufert quæ tua sunt ne
 15 repetas * et prout uultis uobis fa-
 ciant homines sic facite illis. simi
 [liter * et] si dilegitis eos qui uos diligunt
 quæ uobis est gratia. nam et peccatores
 diligentes sé dilegunt. etsi benefi-
 20 ceritis eis qui uobis benefaciunt
 que uobis gratia est. cum et peccatores
 hautem ipsud faciunt. et si motuum de-
 deritis eis a quibus speratis uos
 recipere que gratia est uobis. nam
 25 et peccatores peccatoribus fe-
 nerant ut recipient aequalia :
 uerum tamen amate inimicos uestros
 et benefacite eis et motuum date ²
 30 [nec] ³ desperantes et erit merces uestra
 in cælis multa. et eritis filii alti-
 ssimi quia ipse benignus est super

¹ sser expuncted : above the line, t.² nihil is added in the margin.| ³ erased.

4 Above the line (over first e), i.

S. LUC. VI. 35-44.

f. 61 v. a.

ingratos et malos estote miseri
 cordes sicut et pater uester misericors est *
 [n]olite iudicare ne iudicetur de
 uobis nolite condemnare ne
 5 condempnemini dimitte et dimi
 ttetur uobis.¹ et dabitur uobis mensu
 ram bonam conuersam et coagitatam
 et supereffluentem dabunt insinum
 uestrum. eadem quippe mensura qua
 10 mensi fueritis remetietur uobis., *

²Dixit hautem illis et similitudinem num quid
 potest cæcus cæcum ducere non
 né utrique infoueam cadent * [non est]
 discipulus super magistrum. perfectus hautem
 15 omnis erit si sit sicut magister eius * [quid]
 hautem uides fistucam in oculo fratris
 tui et trabem que in oculo tuo est non
 consideras. aut quomodo potes di
 cere fratri tuo sine frater
 20 ieciam fistucam de oculo tuo. et in
 oculo tuo trabis est ipse in ocu
 lo tuo ³ trabrem non uides. hippo
 chrita eice primum trabem deocu
 lo tuo ettunc perspicies iecire fis
 25 tucam deoculo fratris tui * [non est enim]
 arbor bona que faciat fructus
 malos. neque arbor mala que fa
 ciat fructus bonos unaquaque que
 arbor ⁴ exfructu suo cognosc
 30 [itur * neque] enim collegunt despinis

¹ Above the line, date.² Under this word, in the margin, is written uel dicebat.³ The second r expuncted.⁴ Above the line, de.

S. LUC. VI. 44—VII. 4.

f. 61 v. b.

ficus neque de ro[bo uindemiant]
 [uuam * b]onus homo de bono [thesauro]
 cordis sui profert bona malus
 homo demalo profert malum ex abun
 5 dantia enim cordis os eius loquitur * [quid]
 hautem uocatis me domine domine et non fa
 citis que dico * ¹[omnis] qui uenit ad me
 et audit uerba mea et facit ea
 ostendam uobis cui sit similis
 10 similis est homini aedificanti domum
 suam et fodit in altum et posuit
 fundamenta super petram inun
 datione hautem facta inlisum est flu
 men domui illi et non potuit eam
 15 mouere fundata enim erat su
 pra petram Nam qui audit uerba
 mea et non facit ea similis factus
 homini aedificanti domum suam sine
 fundamento super terram inlisum est
 20 flumen domui illi et continuo con
 cedit et facta est ruina magna
 domus illius., * /: in aures plebis
 Et factum est cum complesset omnia uerba
 intrauit in cafarnauum centori
 25 onis hautem cuiusdam seruus male
 habens erat moriturus qui illi
 prætiosus erat qui cum audisset deihū
 misit seniores iudeorum rogans
 eum ut ueniret etsanaret ser
 30 uum suum at illi uenerunt et rogabant

¹ Erased : over erasure, Omnis.

S. LUC. vii. 4-14.

f. 62 r. a.

eum sollicete dicentes *quia dignus*
est ut hoc ei præstes dilegit enim gentem
nostram et sinagogam ipse ædi
ficauit nobis ibat hautem cum illis
 5 *ih̄s et cum iam non longue esset ado*
mu missit adeum centorio ami
cos dicens domine noli uexari non enim dig
nus sum ut intres . sub tec
tum meum propter quod et me ipsum non
 10 *sum dignum arbitratus ut*
uenirem adte sed dic uerbo tuo et
sanabitur puer meus. Nam et ego ho
mo sum subpotestate constitutus
et habeo subme milites. et dico
 15 *uni uade et uadit et alio. ueni et*
uenit. et seruo meo dico fac hoc
et facit. et hoc audito ih̄s mira
tusest et conuersus sequentibus sé dixit
A men dico uobis innullo talem
 20 fidem inueni inisrahel * et reuersi
sunt in domum qui misi erant
et inuenerunt seruum qui langue
*bat sanum * [et] factum est de*
inceps ibat in ciuitatem quæ uo
 25 catur nauim et ibant cum illo disci
puli eius et turba copiosa cum ad
propinquaret portam ciuitatis
et ecce ferebatur mortuus
filius unicus matris suae
 30 et hæc uidua erat et turba multa
ciuitatis sequebatur cum ea
quam cum uidisset dominus mise
ricordia motus dixit illis
nolite flere et accessit et
 35 titigit loculum et qui porta
 b ant steterunt. et ait ih̄s adu

S. Luc. vii. 14-27.

f. 62 r. b.

liscens tibi dico surge et resedit pro
 tinus qui mortuus erat et coepit
 loqui et dedit matri suae. accepit
 hautem timor omnes et magnificabant
 5 dominum dicentes quia profeta magnus sur
 rexit in nobis et quia uisitauit deus ple
 bem suam ¹ in bono ¹ * [et] exiit hic ser
 mo inuinuersam iudeam et in omnem
 regionem de eo * [et nuntiauerunt io]
 10 hanni discipuli eius de omnibus his
 et conuocauit duos de discipulis suis
 iohannes et misit ad ih̄n̄ dicens
 tú es qui uenturus es aū alium ex
 spectamus illa hautem hora cura
 15 uit multos á langoribus et pla
 gis et spiritibus inmundis et cae
 cis multis dedit uisum et res
 pondens ih̄s dixit ite nuntiate
 iohanni quæ uidistis et audistis
 20 caeci uident clodi ambulant
 leprosi mundantur sordi au
 diunt mortui resurgunt et
 pauperes euangelizantur
 et beatus qui in me non fuerit non
 25 scandalizatus. Et cum disces
 sis sententia iohannis coepit
 ih̄s dicere de iohanne baptis
 ta ad turbas. quod existis indeser
 to uidere harundinem auen
 30 to moueri sed quod existis uidere
 hominem mollibus uestitum : .
 ecce qui in ueste sunt pretiosa et
 in diliciis in domibus
 regum sunt : sed ² quod existis uidere
 35 profetam dico uobis etiam
 plus quam profetam * hic est de quo

¹⁻¹ Expuncted.| ² Altered into quid.

S. Luc. vii. 27-38.

f. 62 v. a.

scriptum est ecce mitto anguelum
 meum ante faciem tuam qui præparabit
 uiam tuam ¹ * dico ² uobis quia nemo mai-
 or est exnatís mulierum et amplior in pro-
 fetis quam iohannis babbista *

D ico hautem uobis minor qui est in regno dei
 maior illo est * et omnis populus audi-
 ens [et] puplicani iusti magnifica-
 bant deum babbizari babbtismo iohan-

10 nis. farissei hautem et legis doctores consi-
 lium dei contempserunt in semet ipsis
 ab iohanne non babbizati. * || genera

CUi ergo similes dicam homines huius
 tioni. similes sunt pueris sedenti

15 bus inforo loquentibus ad inuicem di-
 centes cantauimus uobis et non sal-
 tastis lamentauimus uobis et non
 planxitis uenit enim iohannis neque
 manducans neque bibens et dicunt dae-

20 monium habet uenit filius hominis.
 manducans et bibens et dicunt ecce ho-
 mo deuorator et bibens uinum
 amicus puplicanorum et peccatorum
 et iustificata est sapientia ab om-

25 nibus filii suis * || ut manduca-

Ro gauit hautem eum qui dam fariseus
 ret cum eo et ingressus in do-
 mum farissei recubuit. et ecce
 mulier in ciuitate quæ erat pecca-

30 trix uteognouit quod recubuit
 in domu farissei retulit alabas-
 trum ungenti plenum et stans retro
 secus pedes eius et lacrimis riga-
 bat pedes eius et capillis sui ca-

¹ Above the line, ante te.² In margin, enim.

S. Luc. vii. 38—viii. 2.

f. 62 v. b.

pitis tersit eos et osculabat[ur pedes eius]
 et ungebat ungento. quod cum uidisset fa
 riseus qui eum rogauerat ait intra se
 dicens hic si esset profeta sciret utique qua
 5 lis est mulier quae tanguit eum quia peccatrix
 est et respondens ih̄s dixit adeum. symon habeo
 tibi dicere aliquod at ille ait magister
 dīc cui ih̄s dixit duo debitores erant
 cuidam feneratori unus debebat
 10 denarios quincentos et alias denarios
 ·1· non habentibus illis unde redderent
 donauit utrisque quis ergo illum plūs
 amauit respondit hautem simon existimo quod is
 cui plus donatum est atih̄s dixit ei
 15 recte iudicasti et conuersus ad mulie
 rem dixit simoni uides hanc mulie
 rem intraui in domum tuam aquam
 pedibus meis non dedisti hæc lacrimis suis
 rigauit pedes meos et capillis suis
 20 tersit osculum mihi non dedisti hæc hautem ex quo
 intraui osculari pedes meos non ces
 sat . oleo caput meum non unxisti hæc ¹ ungen
 to ² pedes meos propter quod tibi dico remitten
 tur illi peccata multa quoniam dilexit mul
 25 tum. cui hautem paruum dimittitur paruum
 diligit . et ait mulieri remisasunt
 tibi peccata tua et cooperant qui simul
 recubuerunt cum eo dicere intra
 sé quis est hic qui etiam peccata re
 30 mittit et ait ad mulierem fides
 tua té saluam fecit uade in pace *

Et factum est deinceps
 et ipse iter faciebat per ciui
 tates et uicos prædicans et euan
 35 guelizans regnum dei . et exierunt
 . xii . discipuli cum eo et mulieres

¹ Above the line, hautem.² Above the line, unxit.

S. LUC. viii. 2-10.

f. 63 r. a.

[aliquæ quæ era]nt curatæ aspiritibus
 inmundis et ab infirmitatibus
 et maria quæ uocatur magdalenæ
¹ de qua demonia uii exierant
 5 et iohanna uxor chuzæ procu
 ratoris herodis et sussanna
 et aliae multæ quæ ministrabant
 adeum exeis quæ habebant., *

C um ² ergo turbæ conuenissent et qui
 10 deciuitatibus ad ueniebant dixit
 similitudinem talem ad eos ecce ex
 it qui seminat seminare semen
 suum et dum seminat aliud cecidit
 secus uiam et conculcatum est et uolue
 15 res illud comedenterunt et aliud ce
 cedit super petrosam et cum natum est
 exaruit quia non habebat umore
 aliud cecidit interspinas et exor
 te suntspine suffocauerunt illud
 20 aliud hautem cecidit super terram bonam
 et obtimam et exortum est et fecit fr
 uctum centuplum et hæc dicens cla
 mabat qui habet aures audiendi
 audeat interrogauerunt eum discipuli eius
 25 quæ esset hæc similitudo quibus ipse
 ait uobis datum est scire misterium
 regni dei * cæteris hautem ³ non est datum.
 sed ³ insimilitudinibus ut uiden
 tes non uideant et audientes
 30 non intellegant.,*

¹ Above the line is written e[x].² Above the line, hautem.³⁻³ Expuncted.

S. Luc. viii. 11-20.

f. 63 r. b.

Hæc est hautem¹ similitudo . semen est uerbum dei
 quod hautem cecidit secus uiam hii sunt
 qui audiunt uerbum uenit hautem zabo
 lus et tulit decorde eorum uer
 5 bum né credentes salui fiant
 Nam qui supra petrosam hí sunt
 qui cum audiunt uerbum cum gaudio
 accipiunt illud et hí non ha
 bent radices quia ad tempus
 10 credunt et intempore temp
 tationis recedunt quod hautem inspi
 nis cecidit hí sunt qui audiunt et
 per sollicitudinem diuitiarum et
 dulcidinis uitæ soffocantur
 15 et non adferunt fructum quod hautem ceci
 dit interram bonam hii sunt qui in cor
 de bono et optimo audiunt uer
 bum et tenent et fructificant per
 patientiam . . , * f: uasso aut subtus
 20 Nemo² enim accensam lucernam cooperit
 lectum ponit sed supra candē
 labrum ut omnibus luceat *³ [non] est
 enim absconsum quod non manifestatur
 neque occultum quod non cognoscatur
 25 et in palam ueniat *⁴ [uidete ergo]⁴ quomodo
⁵ audiatis qui enim habet dabitur ei et qui
 cumque non habet et quod habet auferetur
⁶ [ab eo] * uenerunt hautem mater eius et fratres
 et non poterant uidere eum
 30 præ turba et nuntiatum est illi

¹ Above the line, uel parabula.² Above the line, hautem.³ Erased: over erasure, Non.⁴⁻⁴ Erased: over erasure, Uidete; above line, ergo.⁵ e expuncted.⁶ ab eo u erased: in margins, ab illo ;,
| U, followed by space containing the
erasure.

S. Luc. viii. 20-28.

f. 63 v. a.

quia mater tua et fratres tui stant
 foris uolentes te uidere atille
 respondit mater et fratres mei hi sunt
 qui uerbum dei audiunt et faciunt *
 5 Et factum est in una dierum et ipse as-
 cendit innauem cum discipulis suis et ait
 adeos transeamus transfre-
 tum et ascenderunt nauigantibus hautem
 illis obdormiuit et discendit
 10 tempestas magna in stagnum
 et complebatur nauis fluctibus et peri-
 clitabantur accedunt hautem discipuli
 suscitauerunt eum dicentes præcep-
 tor perimus at ille surgens
 15 imperauit uento et tempestati
 aquæ et cessauit et facta est tr-
 anquillitas magna dixit hautem eis ubi
 est fides uestra et timentes mira-
 ti sunt dicentes ad inuicem quis est hic
 20 quia uentis imperat et mari et obe-
 diunt ei per nauigauerunt hautem inre-
 gionem gerasinorum quæ est contra
 fretum et contra galileam exit ad
 terram et occurrit illi uir quidam
 25 qui habebat demonium iam temp-
 oribus multis et uestimentum non in-
 duit neque in domu manebat
 sed in monumentis uidens hautem ihū
 exclamauit uoce magna

S. Luc. viii. 28-35.

f. 63 v. b.

dicens et procedit ad pedes [eius]
 quid mihi et tibi est ihū fili dei altissi
 mi obsecro té né métorqu
 eas præcipit hautem spiritui inmundo
 5 ut exiret ab homine multis enim
 temporibus arripiebat eum
 et alligabatur catenis et conpe
 dibus et custodiebatur et disru
 ptis uinculis agebatur ade
 10 mone in deserta loca et inter
 rogabat eum ihs respōn dic
 ens quod tibi nomen est at ille resp
 ondit legio multa enim demonia
 erant et rogabant eum né im
 15 peraret eis ut in abisum irent.—
Erat hautem ibi grex porcorum mu
 ltorum pascentium in monte et
 rogauerunt eum demonia dicentia
 si iecis nós mitte nós in gregem
 20 porcorum at ille dixit ite et illi
 euntes introierunt in porcos
 et impetu abiit grex porcorum
 per præceps in mare et suffocati
 sunt uidentes hautem qui eos pascebant
 25 pastores quod factum est fugerunt
 et nuntiauerunt in ciuitatem
 et in agros exierunt hautem uidere
 quod factum fuerat et uenerunt
 ad ihm et inuenerunt hominem

S. Luc. viii. 35-43.

f. 64 r. a.

s[edent]e[m] aquo demonia exierant
 uestitum et sana mente nuntia
 uerunt hautem illis qui uiderant quomodo fac-
 tus esset sanus alegione roga
 5 uerunt hautem illum omnis multitudo re-
 gionis gerasinorum ut discede-
 ret ab eis quia timore magno
 tenebantur . . — * f: et reuersus est
 I pse hautem ascendit in nauiculum
 10 rogabat hautem illum uir aquo demo-
 nia exierant ut cum ipso esset di-
 missit hautem illum dicens redi in dom-
 um tuam et na rrá quanta
 tibi fecerit dominus et habuit per
 15 uniuersam ciuitatem prædicans
 quanta ih̄s fecit illi . . — *
 F actum est hautem cum ih̄s redisset exco-
 epit eum turba erant hautem omnes
 exspectantes eum et ecce uenit
 20 uir cui nomen erat zarius
 et hic erat princeps sinagoge
 et procedit ad pedes ih̄u rogans
 eum ut intraret in domum suam
 quia filia sua unica quæ erat illi
 25 fere annorum xii et hæc moriebatur
 Et factum est dum iret ih̄s aturbis sic
 conprimebatur ut soffocarent eum
 mulier quædam quæ fluxum

S. Luc. viii. 43-50.

f. 64 r. b.

sanguinis patiebatur ab annis
 xii quæ medicis erogauerat om
 nem sub stantiam suam nec ob ullo
 potuit curari accessit retro
 5 et tetigit timbias uestimen
 ti eius et confestim stetit fluxus san
 guinis ih̄s hautem uidens quod exierat
 ab eo uirtus interrogabat
 quis est qui mé tetigit negabant
 10 hautem omnes dixit petrus et qui cum illo
 erant turbæ té comprimunt et
 dicis quis mé tetigit atille dixit
 tetigit mé aliquis ego enim scio á
 mé exisse uirtutem uidens hautem
 15 mulier quod non lateret uenit
 tremens et procedit ante pedes
 ih̄u et ob quam causam tetigit eum
 indicauit coram omni populo
 et quem ad modum sanataest at
 20 ille dixit filia fides tua té sal
 uam fecit uade inpace ad
 huc eo loquente uenit adprin
 cipem sinagogæ nuntius
 dicens quia filia tua mortua est
 25 nolí uexare magistrum ih̄s
 uero auditio uerbum hoc ait pa
 tri puellæ nolí timere
 crede tantum et saluá erit

S. LUC. viii: 51—ix. 5.

f. 64 v. a.

et cum uenisset ad domum non per
missit intrare quemquam secum
nisi petrum et iacobum et iohannem
et patrem puellæ et matrem
5 flebant omnes et plangebant
eam at ille dixit nolite flere
non est enim mortua puella sed
dormit et diridebant eum sci
entes quod mortua esset ipse
10 hautem tenens manum eius clamauit
dicens puella surge et reuer
sus est spiritus eius et surrexit continuo
et iusit ei dari manducare
et stupuerunt parentes eius et ex
15 pauerunt quibus præcipit né ali
cui dicerent quod factum est *
conuocatis ¹ xii discipulis dedit
eis uirtutem et potestatem super
omnia demonia ut curarent
20 omnem languorem et missit
eos prædicare regnum dei et sana
re infirmos * [et] ait ad ² eos nihil
tuleritis in uiam non uirgam non pe
ram non panem non pecuniam neque
25 duas tonicas habueritis
in quamcumque domum intraueritis
ibi manete et inde ne exea
[tis * et] quicunque non ³ reciperit uos

¹ Above the line, hautem.² Above the line, illos.³ Above the line (above t), n.

S. Luc. ix. 5-12.

f. 64. v. b.

exeuntes deciuitate ex[cuti]
 te puluerem depedibus uestris
 intestimonium illis.— * /: ella
Egressi hautem circum ibant per cast
 5 et ciuitates euangelizantes et cu
 rantes ubique * audiuit hautem he
 rodis tetracha omnia quæ era
 nt facta ab eo et hesitabat
 eo quod diceretur aquibus dam quia iohannis
 10 surrexit amortuis ¹ aquibus
 uero quia helias apa
 ruit ab aliis hautem profetaunus
 deantiquis su rrexisset
 et ait herodis ² iohannem hautem ego de
 15 collaui quis hautem est iste de quo
 audio ³ talia et quesiuuit eum uidere *
 [et] reuersi apostoli dixerunt ei que
 cumque fecerunt * et adsumptis illis
 secessit seorsum in locum deser
 20 tum qui uocatur bethzaida quod
 cum cognouissent turbæ secutæ
 sunt eum et excoepit eos et loque
 batur eis deregno dei et eos qui
 curari indigebant sanabat *

Dies ⁴ uero cooperat declinare et
 accesserunt xii discipuli eius dixerunt
 ei dimitte turbas ut eant cir
 ca castella et uicos et refici
 ant sé

¹ At end, in margin, dam.
² In margin, nem.

³ Above the line, ego.
⁴ Expuncted : above the line, hautem.

S. LUC. ix. 12-21.

f. 65 r. a.

[et inue]nient escas quia hic in loco
 deserto sumus ait hautem ad eos
 date illis uós manducare
 at illi dixerunt non sunt nobis plus
 5 quam quinque panes et duo pisces nisi
 nós eamus et emamus in omnem
 hanc turbam escas erant enim fere
 quinque milia uirorum ait hautem ad
 discipulos suos facite eos discum
 10 bere per conuiua quinquagenos
 et ita fecerunt et discumberunt omnes
 acceptis hautem quinque panibus et duobus
 piscibus respexit in cælum et be
 nedixit super illos et fregit de
 15 dit discipulis suis ut ponerent
 ante turbas et manducauerunt
 omnes et saturati sunt et sublatum est
 quod superfuit illis fragmento
 rum cophini xii.— * /: discipulis suis.
 20 Et factum est cum¹ solis esset orans cum
 interrogauit eos dicens quem mē
 esse dicunt turbæ at illi dix
 erunt iohannem babbistam alii
 hautem heliam aut unum ex profetis
 25 prioribus² at hautem eis uós hautem quem mē
 dicitis esse respondens simón
 petrus dixit xpñ dei . — *

At ille increpans illos præcipit

¹ i expuncted : above the line, u. | ² Above the line (after a), i.

S. Luc. ix. 21-28.

f. 65 r. b.

né cui dicerent hóc dicens
 quia oportet filium hominis multa
 pati et reprobrari a principibus
 et senioribus et scribís et occidi
 5 et post tertium diem resurgere *
 [d]icebat hautem ad omnes si quis uult
 post mé uenire abnegat sé
 ipsum sibi ettollat crucem suam
 etsequatur mé qui enim uoluerit ani
 10 mam suam saluam facere per
 d[e]t eam Nam qui perdiderit ani
 mam suam propter mé hic saluam
 faciet eam quod enim proficiet homini
 si ¹ lueretur uniuersum mundum
 15 sé ipsum hautem perdat et detrimen
 tum sui faciat * nam qui mé eru
 buerit et meos sermones hunc
 et filius hominis erubescet cum ue
 nerit in maiestate sua et pa
 20 tris sui et sanctorum angelorum *
 [d]ico hautem uobís uere sunt híc ali
 qui stantes qui non gustabunt
 mortem donec uideant filium
 hominis in gloria sua factum
 25 est hautem post haec uerba fere post dies
 octo adsumpsit petrum
 et iohannem et iacobum et ascen
 dit inmontem ut oraret

¹ First e changed into e.

S. Luc. ix. 29-36.

f. 65 v. a.

et dum oraret factaest spe
 cies aspectus eius altera et
 uestitus eius albus et refulgens
 et ecce duo uiiri loquentes
 5 cum eo erant hautem moyses et helias
 apparentes inmaiestate
 et dicebant excessum eius quem
 completerus erat in hirusa
 lem petrus hautem et qui cumeo erant
 10 grauati sunt somno et euige
 lantes uiderunt maiestatem
 eius et duos uiiros qui adstabant cumillo
 Et factum est cum discederent ab eo
 ait petrus ad ih̄m magister
 15 bonum est hic esse nob̄is et faci
 amus tria tabernacula
 unum tibi et unum moysi et unum
 heliae nesciens quod diceret
 hec¹ eo loquente factaest nubs
 20 et inumbrauit eos et timue
 runt intrantibus hautem illis innu
 bem uox facta est innube
 dicens hic est filius meus dilec
 tissimus hunc audite et cum
 25 uox facta esset inuentus est
 ih̄s solus et ipsi tacuerunt
 et² nem̄i dixerunt inillis di
 ebus quicquam ex illis que uiderant *

¹ In margin, hautem.² Above the line, at the end of the word, ni.

S. Luc. ix. 37-44.

f. 65 v. b.

Factum est hautem in sequent[i die]
 discendentibus illis demonte
 occurrit illis turba mul
 ta et ecce uir deturba
 5 exclamauit dicens magister
 obsecro te respice infi
 lium meum quia unicus est mihi et ecce
 spiritus inmundus adprehendit
 eum et subito clamat eledit
 10 et disipat eum cum spuma et de
 laniens eum uix discedit ab eo
 et rogaui discipulos tuos ut eicere
 nt illum et non potuerunt ipse hautem
 respondens dixit ógeneratio incre
 15 dula quo usque patiar uos quo
 usque s[um] apud uos adduc
 filium tuum huc dum accidisset
 elidit eum demonium et dissip
 uit eum et increpauit ih̄s
 20 spiritum inmundum et sanauit
 puerum et reddidit ² patri
³ [eius * et] stupebant omnes in
 magnitudinem dei * et mira
 bantur omnes super omnia quae
 25 faciebat ih̄s dixit hautem ad dis
 cipulos suos ponite uos in cor
 dibus uestris sermones istos
 filius hautem hominis tradetur

¹ Erased : over the erasure, ero.² Above the line, illum.³ Erased: in right margin (l. 21) eius ; |and partly in margin, partly over
erasure, Et, followed by space.

S. Luc. ix. 44-52.

f. 66 r. a.

[inma]nus hominum at illi igno
 rabant hōc uerbum erat hautem co
 opertum illis ut non intellexerent
 illud et timebant interrogare
 5 eum de hoc uerbo * intrauit hautem in eis
 cogitatio quis eorum esset ih̄s hautem
 uidens cogitationes cordis
 eorum adprehendit puerum et sta
 tuit secus sé et ait quicumque ac
 10 ciperit puerum istum innomine
 meo me recipit et quicumque mé
 recipit non mé recipit sed re
 cipit eum qui mé missit Nam
 qui minor est interuós hic maior
 15 [est] * respondit hautem iohannis dicens magis
 ter uidimus quandam innomine
 tuo eicientem demonia et prohi
 buimus eum qui non sequitur nobiscum et
 ait ad eum ih̄s sinite eum et noli
 20 te prohibere qui enim non est aduersus
 uos pro uobis est * factum est hautem dum
 compleretur dies adsumptionis
 eius et ipse faciem suam firma
 uit ut iret in hierusalem
 25 et missit nuntios ante conspec
 tum suum et eentes intrauerunt
 in ciuitatem samaritanorum
 ut pararent illi cænam

S. Luc. ix. 53-56.

f. 66 r. b.

et non recipierunt eum quia facies eius erat
 euntis in hierusalem cum uidissent
 hautem discipuli eius iacobus et iohannis et
 dixerunt domine uis dicemus ut
 5 ignis discendat decælo et con-
 sumat illos et conuersus increpa-
 uit illos et dixit nescitis d[omi]n[u]s¹ et abi-

¹ The words [cuius spiritus esti]s filius | um perdere sed sanare are supplied in
 hominis non uenit animas homin- | upper margin.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V.

p. 77. l. 15. The section in the Amiatine manuscript ends with traderent (l. 14).

p. 77. ll. 27, 28. The punctuation mark, and Et in margin, are probably due to the corrector.

p. 78. l. 5. The second *tur* is not quite certain.

p. 78. l. 7. The erased x appears to be legible. Exurgent is read by *r*₂, exsurgent by *r*₁ *k*, insurgent by Q (*ms.*) R.

p. 78. l. 11. Traces of the final letter of electos remain. The section should have ended with uobis. But ecce *præd.* u. being rejected by the corrector, the mark indicating the close of a section is placed after electos. This appears to confirm the supposition that the corrector and the numerator were the same person.

p. 78. l. 21. The section ends with *in cælo* (l. 22) in Cod. Am.

p. 78. l. 34 *sqq.* A hole in the vellum extends from l. 34 to l. 37, and is the cause of the space in the middle of *ianuis*. l. 38.

p. 79. l. 3. Possibly *et* is a correction from *uel*.

p. 79. l. 6. The space after *in* is not large enough to have contained *illis*: nor is there any appearance of erasure.

p. 79. l. 12. Apparently *tur et unus* is written over an erasure. Traces of *et* . . . *r* remain.

p. 79. l. 23. Some traces of *cum* remain.

p. 80. l. 36. The space after *suus* is due to a hole in the vellum.

p. 81. l. 18. The words *ab eo* are followed by the mark (;) indicating the end of the section. Here is a further proof that whoever divided the Gospels into sections revised the text as he went along.

p. 81. l. 19. *Et* is possibly due to the corrector. If so, *ab eo* (l. 18) may be written in part over the same word erased.

p. 81. l. 20. There is a mark before *in*, which may possibly be a partially erased letter.

p. 81. l. 23. *eius* is read by $r_1 r_2 h$ A etc., and suits the space.

p. 81. ll. 34-37. A hole in the vellum extends down these lines.

p. 82. l. 1. *tē* may be read as above, regarding the point above it as a mark of omission; or possibly the line as well as the point is due to the corrector. In this case it should be printed *te*, the symbol *f* being an indication of a marginal note now illegible.

p. 82. ll. 25, 26. The conjecturally restored reading of the erased words (which exactly fits the space) is that of $r_1 r_2 E^*$.

p. 82. l. 26. In A the section begins with the words (l. 25) *Et factum est*.

p. 82. l. 33. There is a mark above the first letter of *forte*. Possibly something was written here and afterwards erased.

p. 83. l. 1 *sqq.* A hole in the vellum extends down ll. 1-3.

p. 83. l. 7. The letters *tis* are plainly a correction. We therefore infer that *habetis* was not the original reading. In the absence of all trace of the original letters I substitute for those of the corrector *bitis* with r_2 (not r_1) *DELQR Durm*, etc. Again, it seems clear that the word before *unguentum* cannot have been *hac*. Otherwise this word must have been erased, for no assignable reason, merely to be re-written. This sufficiently disposes of the claim of the reading of the corrector to represent the text as originally written. No trace of the original writing remains. What I have substituted for it suits the space, and is supported by $r_1 r_2 h$ (*haec enim mittens*).

p. 83. l. 26. Possibly the original reading was *tradit*, the final *t* being changed into *tur* by the corrector.

p. 83. l. 32. No trace of the erased words remains. The restored text is supported by r_1 (L) (R*) etc. r_2 is wanting.

p. 83. l. 33. I have followed the reading of r_1 L (DQR).

p. 83. l. 35. The reading as restored is required by the space and supported by r_1 L.

p. 84. ll. 1 *sqq.* A hole extends from the top of the column to l. 4.

p. 84. l. 5. No traces of *quia* remain: but there is a space which may have contained it. It is read here in $r_1 h$ (r_2 is wanting) *DEP^{ing}LQR*.

p. 84. l. 20. *dixit* is uncertain. The word may have been *dicit* (= r_1 L), perhaps corrected into *dixit*.

p. 84. l. 28. The space appears to be too small for *iste uerum*: sed is the reading of r_1 .

p. 84. ll. 33, 34. I know of no other authority for the reading *abiit hautem iterum*. But both r_1 and r_2 are unfortunately wanting at this place. The original reading was certainly not *iterum hautem abiit*; for in that case *abiit* would not have been erased, merely to be re-written, and moreover the *abiit* of the corrector, though the letters are spread out, does not nearly occupy the space left by the erasure, *iterum*, if written in full would about fill it. Accordingly I have restored the reading on the analogy of v. 44 as read in $r_1 f$ (*abiit iterum*). The original reading, however, may have been *abiit hautem secundo*. In any case *hautem* seems to belong to the original writing.

p. 86. ll. 1, 2. *exitum rei*, which is the reading of $r_1 r_2$ (*ms.*) *h* etc. suits the space. I have sometimes persuaded myself that I could read the erased *e* of *rei*, and *pri* of *principes*. Be that as it may the original reading of the manuscript can scarcely be regarded as doubtful.

p. 86. l. 17. The section ends in Cod. Am. at *filius dei* (l. 15).

p. 86. l. 23. In Cod. Am. the section ends with *blasphemauit* (see l. 22).

p. 86. l. 26. *in*, which suits the space, is supported apparently by all other MS.

p. 86. l. 30. *vero* may possibly be original.

p. 86. l. 36. The space in the middle of *ancella* is due to a rent in the vellum.

p. 87. l. 11. *mane cum factum esset*, is the reading of *h*; r_1 being here wanting.

p. 87. l. 12. *fecerunt* is the reading of $Q r_2$. Traces of the first letter remain.

p. 87. l. 28. Is *hautem* a scribe's blunder for *hoc*?

p. 87. l. 31. *ad* supplied on the authority of $r_1 h$. These letters suit the marks which have survived, which, however, would rather have suggested *ex*.

p. 87. l. 34. For *filiis* the correct reading may possibly be *filii*, the final *i* being added as a correction.

p. 88. l. 1. traces of the letters *hs* seem to be legible.

p. 88. l. 23. *quid igitur* may be original. A portion of the second *a* in *faciam* remains, transformed into *e*. Possibly *us* | *de* are original.

p. 88. l. 27. It is quite possible that the original reading may have been *nullum*, the second stroke of the first *u* being erased, *ll* being changed into *h*, and *ü* into *il*. But as *nullum* seems otherwise unsupported I have put *nichil* into the text.

p. 89. ll. 9, 10. There can be little doubt that the words enclosed in brackets are correct. They exactly suit the space, and are supported by $r_1 r_2$: *eius*, though erased, is distinctly legible, as is also the lower part of the first letter of *faciem*, which has escaped erasure. Thus *in faciem eius* is certain. The space remaining in l. 9 is too small for *et expuentes* (*A* etc.), *et expuebant* (*h* etc.) or *et conspuentes* (*d*), unless the writing projected considerably into the margin, but is quite sufficient for *expuerunt*.

p. 89. l. 10. *et* is most uncertain, but there appears to be room for it after *eius*, and it is required by the sense, and supported by *h r₁*.

p. 89. l. 27. Some traces of *ob* remain.

p. 89. l. 30. In very good light the *e* in *crucifixerunt* seems legible.

p. 89. l. 31. *alterum* is the reading of *h*; *alium* would suit the space equally well; *unum* (= $r_1 r_2$) and *unus* are both excluded. There are some traces of the erased letters, but I have found it impossible to read them.

p. 89. l. 35. A rent in the vellum causes the space in *readificabás*.

p. 90. l. 1. The horizontal line over the final letter of the first word is legible. There is some writing above this line, of which only the two letters *su* (above *temet*) are legible.

p. 90. l. 6. That *es* has been altered to *est* is quite evident; *es* would require *descende*, and the *t* in *descendat* has all the appearance of being inserted; but a shows little trace of being due to the corrector. It exhibits, however, signs of compression as if to make room for the following *t*.

p. 90. l. 7. *ei* looks as if it had been written by the corrector. Perhaps it replaced *si*. *h* reads *cred.* *ei si confidet*.

p. 90. l. 8. *eum dixit*: so $h_1 r_2$. The section begins with *id* (l. 9) in *A*.

p. 90. l. 9. The two last letters of *crucifixi* are perhaps due to the corrector.

p. 90. l. 13. *autem* is read by *h*.

p. 90. l. 21. The section ends with *eum* (l. 23) in *A*.

p. 90. l. 22. *sinete*: so *d* (*hiat r₁*). Parts of the letters *et* remain.

p. 90. l. 25. *ih*s is made prominent by the corrector, as if to mark the beginning of a section, but there is no numeral in the margin.

p. 91. l. 8. The reading may have been *hautem sero* (*h r₁ r₂*).

p. 91. l. 12. The section begins in the next line (*et*) in *Am*.

p. 91. l. 33. *et signauerunt* suits the space, and is supported by *h r₂* (*hiat r₁*).

p. 98. l. 30. *hoc uiso simon* suits the space, which is not sufficient for the reading of the corrector. It is taken from *a*. In r_1 we find *quod cum uidisset simon*, which may have been written in our manuscript. But if so it must have projected into the margin.

p. 100. l. 1. Slight traces of *Et* remain in the MS. The word is distinctly legible in a photograph of the page.

- p. 100. l. 10. Opposite this line in left margin is the letter s.
- p. 101. l. 19. The space of the erasure is too great to have contained only r. et is therefore inserted with A r_1 etc.
- p. 103. l. 3. In A the section ends with *sacerdotibus* (l. 2). Our numerator makes its close coincide with that of the paragraph in his manuscript.
- p. 103. l. 4. The section begins a verse earlier (l. 2 et dixit) in A.
- p. 103. l. 24. *oilare (sic)*: a slip of the pen, not very difficult to explain, for orare.
- p. 104. ll. 1-3. The letters enclosed in brackets are for the most part torn away.
- p. 104. l. 6. et dis is erased and re-written in large character as if for the beginning of a section, but there is no number in the margin.
- p. 104. l. 30. *uerum* is retouched as if for beginning of section, but no number appears in the margin.
- p. 105. l. 3. In A the section begins twolines further back (*uae ubis qui saturati*).
- p. 105. l. 19. Probably *dilegentes* is correct: but it may be *diligentes* (the second i perhaps altered into e).
- p. 105. l. 29. The word (of two or three letters) erased at the beginning of the line cannot have been *nihil*, though this would suit the space; for there is no reason why this word should have been erased and re-written by the corrector. On the other hand a very slight mark remaining before d looks like the upper part of c. Hence the conjectural restoration, nec. Perhaps, however, we may read non or ne; or again in, *i.e.* inde sperantes, though the space is more than sufficient for this. Whatever may have been the erased word there appears to be no other authority for the reading as originally written.
- p. 106. l. 7. Possibly the mark over *coagitata* may indicate omission, or at least doubt. The word is not found in r_1 .
- p. 106. l. 10. The second e of *remetietur* may have been corrected from i.
- p. 106. l. 14. Possibly a word is erased in left margin before *discipulus*.
- p. 106. l. 15. Apparently traces of q in *quid* remain.
- p. 106. l. 17. The u in *oculo* has been corrected from some other letter.
- p. 107. ll. 1, 2. The greater number of the letters enclosed in brackets are torn away.
- p. 109. On the extreme edge of this page above the second column there is some writing partly torn away, of which a few letters appear to be legible—*incipit nim . r . . m . .*
- p. 109. l. 13. There appear to be marks over the two last words, thus: *álium ex .*
- p. 109. l. 25. Perhaps *scandalizatus*.
- p. 109. l. 33. A space is left after *domibus* sufficient to have contained *regum*.
- p. 110. l. 8. The space between *ens* and *puplic.* is sufficient for *et*. A crease in the vellum makes the word illegible.
- p. 113. ll. 27, 28. The words *ab illo*, written in the right margin opposite l. 27, are regarded above as having been penned by the corrector. It would be natural to conclude that these words were originally written at the beginning of l. 28. The space of the erasure there seems however too small to have contained *ab illo u.* Hence the conjectural reading *ab eo*, which is supported by r_1 . Some traces of the erased letters remain, which appear to be of the e of *eo*, and the first letter of *uenerunt*, the latter being indeed quite certain.
- p. 115. l. 11. *sic : respon* (*i.e. respondens* or *respondit*) deleted.
- p. 116. l. 1. Traces of s remain.
- p. 116. l. 13. The space in the middle of *narrá* is caused by a hole in the vellum.
- p. 117. l. 3. ob *sic*.
- p. 117. l. 26. *uerbum = uerb*, the horizontal stroke being perhaps not original.
- p. 119. l. 13. Space after su due to hole in vellum.
- p. 122. l. 16. *tria* is badly written. It might be read *trai*.
- p. 125. l. 1. *non* might be read *hæc* the form of the n approaching very closely here, as occasionally elsewhere, to that of h.
- p. 125. l. 7. d = *desunt* (cf. Abbott's *Evangeliorum Vers. Anteh.* pp. 645, 699). It refers to the words written in the upper margin. The position of this symbol as part of the original writing proves that the omission of the words which follow *nescitis* in the Vulgate text is not solely due to the carelessness of our scribe. See above p. 68 sq. In restoring the illegible words of the marginal reading I have followed the Codex Amiatinus. The first three words may have been (as in r_1) *quali spiritu estis*.

CHAPTER VI.

AFFINITIES OF THE IRISH OLD LATIN TEXT.

IF the reasoning of our fourth chapter has conducted us to a correct conclusion, we have in our hands three copies¹ more or less complete of the Irish Old Latin recension of the last five chapters of St Matthew, and two for six chapters of St Luke. With their help we may now enter upon a further stage of our inquiry. Our object is to discover the affinities of the Irish Old Latin text. It is generally agreed that it belongs in the main to the European family, of which the Codex Veronensis (*b*) is the typical representative. We shall make the attempt to discover whether there are any variations from that type, and to what extent these are derived from the Italian or African recensions.

§ 1. *Binary Combinations (St Matthew).*

For the Matthean fragment we have three witnesses— $\mu r_1 r_2$ —and our task will here perhaps be most thoroughly and easily performed by giving in the first place a list of the readings in which at least two of these mss. are in agreement against the Vulgate, omitting those which are found in *b*.² With these we have noted the principal mss. of the pre-hieronymian text in which they are found. We confine ourselves to the Codex Brixianus (*f*) for the Italian family, to the Codex Palatinus (*e*) and Cyprian's quotations for the African (Codex Bobiensis (*k*) not being available), and to the Vercelli manuscript (*a*) and Codex Bezae (*d*) as representing other ancient types of text. The references for the Cyprianic readings are to the pages of Hartel's edition in the Vienna *Corpus*.

I. *Readings in which at least two of the three MSS. $\mu r_1 r_2$ agree.*

Matt. xxiv. 12. $r_1 r_2$ (ms.) quia pro quoniam = *d*.

* μr_2 iniquitas et ref.

14.³ $\mu r_1 r_2$ per totum orbem = *e* (+ terrarum) Cyp. i. 335 (+ terrae).

¹ One of these, an extract from "the Garland of Howth" (*r₂*), is printed in the Appendix to this volume.

² The number of variants recorded in the following list is over 200: it would have been about 350 had those been included which are supported by *b*.

³ The text of this verse is of peculiar interest. St Patrick, in his Confession (Whitley Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, ii. p. 369), quotes St Matt. xxiv. 14 as follows: "Predicabitur hoc euangelium regni in uniuerso mundo in testimonium omnibus gentibus; et tunc ueniet finis." And elsewhere (p. 367) he says that our Lord had foretold that His Gospel would be preached "in testimonium omnibus genti-

- Matt. xxiv. 15. μr_2 (*hiat r₁*) per danielum profetam (-*tum r₂*) = *d* (*e*) Cyp. i. 335.
 16. * μr_1 in montes; r_2 in montibus = *a b d e. f* ad montes.
 17. * $\mu r_1 r_2$ in tecto sunt.
 $\mu r_1 r_2$ descendant (-*dent μ*).
 18. μr_1 in agro erit; r_2 in agro sunt. *e f* Cyp. i. 335 in agro est.
 23. r_1 aut ecce illuc; r_2 ecce illuc: $r_1 = a$ Cyp. i. 336, $r_2 = b$ *e*.
 24. μr_1 (*hiat r₂*) exsurgent = *a d f*.
 27. μr_1 usque ad = *e f* Cyp. i. 336.
 μr_2 (*hiat r₁*) erit aduentus = *a d*.
 30. $\mu r_1 r_2$ apparet = *e f* Cyp. i. 336.
 r₁ lamentabunt[. . .]; r_2 lamentabunt se. *e* lamentabuntur;
 e vel r₂ = Cyp. i. 336.
 31. $\mu r_1 r_2$ (*ms.*) quattuor angulis uentorum. *b* quat. angulos caeli.
 $\mu r_1 r_2$ *ad fin* + cum cooperint autem (*om. autem μ*) haec fieri
 respicie et leuate caput quoniam (quia r_1) adpropiat re-
 demptio uestra = *b* (capita uestra) *d* (incipientibus . . . his
 . . . capita uestra quia).
32. μr_2 (*hiat r₁*) cognoscitis (-*cetis μ*) pro scitis = *d e* (-cite).
 μr_2 (*hiat r₁*) prope esse aestatem (aestas μ).
 33. μr_2 (*hiat r₁*) sic *pro ita*.
 μr_2 (*hiat r₁*) quoniam *pro quia* = *d e*.
 * μr_1 (? *ms.*) r_2 prope est ianuis.
 35. $\mu r_1 r_2$ (*ms.*) autem *pro uero* = *a d e f*.
 37. $\mu r_1 r_2$ (*ms.*) enim *pro autem* = *d e*.
 38. μr_2 manducabant; r_1 manducantes: $\mu r_2 = a$; $r_1 = b$ *d e f*.
 μr_2 bibeant = *a*.
 $\mu r_1 r_2$ et (*om. r₁*) nubebant.
 $\mu r_1 r_2$ uxores ducebant = *a*.
 μr_1 (? *ms.*) r_2 usque in = *a d f*.
 μr_2 *om. eum* = *f*.
 $\mu r_1 r_2$ noe in arcum = *d f*.
 39. $\mu r_1 r_2$ non senserunt.
 40. $\mu r_1 r_2$ erunt duo.
 μr_1 alter relinquetur; r_2 alius rel.
 42. * $\mu r_1 r_2$ qua die uel (+ *qua μ*) hora. *e* qua hora aut qua die.
 45. $r_1 r_2$ *om. suis* = *a d e*.
 μr_2 super = *a d e*.
 49. * μr_2 conseruos sues percute. *e*
 $\mu r_1 r_2$ ebriosis = *d f*.
 51. μr_1 cum infidelibus.
- xxv. 1. $r_1 r_2$ similabitur = *d*.
 * $r_1 r_2$ prodierunt
 2. r_1 (? *ms.*) r_2 sapientes = *d*.
 3. μr_2 (*hiat r₁*) fatuae autem. *d* stultae ergo.
 4. $r_1 r_2$ sapientes = *d*.
 r₁ r₂ (*ms.*) autem *pro uero* = *d*.
 r₁ r₂ *om. suis*.
 9. μr_2 et (*om. r₂*) dixerunt.
 $\mu r_1 r_2$ ad eos qui uendunt.
 * $r_1 r_2$ emite uobis oleum.
 11. μr_1 (*e spat.*) r_2 postea *pro nouissime* = *f*.
 μr_2 (*hiat r₁* [*ms.*]) uenerunt (-iarunt r_2) = *d f*.
 12. μr_2 (*ms.*) (*hiat r₁*) uobis + quia = *f*.
 14. $r_1 r_2$ substantiam suam = *d f*.
 15. $\mu r_1 r_2$ + quidem ante dedit = *d*.

bus ante *finem mundi*." These two passages suffice to show that St Patrick read the last word of the verse as it is found in r_2 *d f q δ* Cyp. i. 335, though μr_1 agree in this case with the Vulgate. In the earlier part of the verse, on the other hand, his reading agrees with the Vulgate against the unanimous testimony of our three manuscripts, which have there adopted the African "per totum orbem" of Cyp. i. 335. This is the only passage within the limits of our fragments quoted by St Patrick.

- Matt. xxv. 16. $\mu r_1 r_2$ autem abiit (abhiis r_2) = *f*.
 17. μr_1 similiter autem.
 $\mu r_1 r_2$ et qui = *a d f*.
 19. * μr_2 *om.* uero.
 $\mu r_1 r_2$ tempus = *d f*.
 * μr_1 illorum seruorum.
 20. * μr_2 *om.* et *pri*.
 $\mu r_1 r_2$ accessit . . . et.
 $\mu r_1 r_2$ (*ms.*) *om.* talenta sec.
 $r_1 r_2$ lucratuſ.
 21. $\mu r_1 r_2$ serue bone = *d f*.
 $\mu r_1 r_2$ fidelis fuisti.
 23. μr_1 dominus suus = *d*. [r_2 *om.* vv. 22, 23.]
 μr_1 fidelis fuisti.
 24. μr_1 colligis.
 25. * $\mu r_1 r_2$ timui ergo (enim μ) et.
 26. $r_1 r_2$ serue nequam = *a* (nequa). *d* nequa serue.
 $\mu r_1 r_2$ colligo = *f*.
 27. μr_1 te dare pecuniam; r_2 uenundari pecuniam.
 $\mu r_1 r_2$ ego ueniens.
 29. * $r_1 r_2$ *om.* autem.
 μr_1 etiam quod; r_2 quod . . . etiam.
 34. μr_2 regnum quod uobis paratum est = Cyp. i. 391, 430¹. Cyp. i. 100, 112, quod uobis paratum est regnum.
 35. $r_1 r_2$ suscepistis *pro* collexistis.
 36. $\mu r_1 r_2$ carcere (-rem r_2) fui = *d f* Cyp. i. 100, 112, 181, 391, 700.
ab carcerem eram.
 37. $\mu r_1 r_2$ aut sitientem = *d f*.
* μr_1 potauimus te; r_2 pauimus te. *d f* Cyp. i. 100, 112, 391, potauimus.
 38. * $r_1 r_2$ + aut *ad init.*
 $\mu r_1 r_2$ suscepimus (suscip. μr_2) = *a*.
 39. $\mu r_1 r_2$ uel *pro* aut.
 40. $\mu r_1 r_2$ ex *pro* de = Cyp. i. 100, 112, 392.
 $\mu r_1 r_2$ *om.* his.
 41. $\mu r_1 r_2$ quem praeparauit (par. r_1) pater meus = *d* (quod)
Cyp. i. 100 (L) : $r_1 = a$ (quod) *b* Cyp. i. 100 (Hartel), 112, 392.
 42. $r_1 r_2$ bibere ([. . .]e r_1).²
 43. $r_1 r_2$ suscepistis = *f*.
 $r_1 r_2$ cooperuistis = *f*.
 44. μr_1 (*ms.*) r_2 respond. + ei = *f*.
 45. * $r_1 r_2$ respondet (respon \overline{u} μ).
 $\mu r_1 r_2$ eis = *d*.
 $r_1 r_2$ minimis = *a* Cyp. i. 101, 112, 392. *d* minimorum.
 46. $\mu r_1 r_2$ et tunc ibunt (*om.* et μ).
 μ isti *pro* hi; r_1 [. . .]s[t]i (? *ms.*); r_2 iniusti : μ = Cyp. i. 101, 112, 392.
- xxvi. 1. $\mu r_1 r_2$ omnia uerba haec.
 3. * $\mu r_1 r_2$ (*ms.*) uocabatur.
 8. μr_2 quod (qui μ) cum uidissent.
 9. r_1 hoc *pro* istud; r_2 haec (*ms.*): $r_1 = d$.
 μ pratioſo multo; r_1 pratio; r_2 practio magna : $r_1 = ab$. *f* multo
pratio.
 10. * $\mu r_1 r_2$ bonum opus.
 12. * $\mu r_1 r_2$ ecce enim mittens.
* $\mu r_1 r_2$ *om.* haec.
 19. μr_1 eis = *a d*. [hiat r_2 usque v. 45.]
 21. μr_1 manducantibus = *a d*.
 23. μr_1 dixit = *a d*.

¹ So also Lebar Brecc, p. 450. See Bernard in *Trans. of R.I.A.*, xxx. p. 323.² So Lebar Brecc, p. 418, *Trans. R.I.A.*, xxx. 323.

- Matt. xxvi. 24. * μr_1 non nasci homini illi . b homini illi non nasci.
 25. μr_1 traditurus eum erat . $a b f$ traditurus erat eum.
 26. μr_1 ipsis autem manducantibus= d . $a b$ ipsis autem cenantibus.
 μr_1 dicens *pro* et ait= f .
 29. μr_1 uobis + quia= f .
 34. * μr_1 quoniam.
 35. μr_1 dicit= d .
 36. μr_1 cum illis iesus . f cum eis iesus.
 μr_1 agrum qui= d .
 38. μr_1 dicit= d .
 45. $r_1 r_2$ (*ms.*) ait= f .
 47. μ plurima multitudo ; r_1 plurima turba.
 50. $\mu r_1 r_2$ cui dixit.
 * μr_2 uenisti fac.
 51. $r_1 r_2$ abscidit.
 53. $r_1 r_2$ putatis= f .
 r_1 non posse me ; r_2 non . . . possum me . $a b$ non . . . posse me.
 * $r_1 r_2$ exiberet ; μ exibet.
 55. $\mu r_1 r_2$ ad turbas . a ad turbam.
 * $r_1 r_2$ eram *pro* sedebam.
 $r_1 r_2$ tenuistis me= $a d$.
 56. * μr_2 inpleretur.
 $\mu r_1 r_2$ discipuli eius= a .
 57. $\mu r_1 r_2$ illi autem= d .
 * $\mu r_1 r_2$ perduxerunt.
 58. $\mu r_1 r_2$ intus= d .
 $\mu r_1 r_2$ (*ms.*) exitum rei *pro* finem= a . $b d f$ finem rei.
 59. $\mu r_1 r_2$ aduersus= $a d f$.
 60. $\mu r_1 r_2$ inuenerunt in eum (*eo* μ) quicquam (quiquam r_2) . d inuenerunt sequentia.
 * $r_1 r_2$ om. cum . . . accessissent.
 61. * r_1 (?) r_2 dei hoc ; μ hoc dei : $\mu=b d$.
 63. μr_1 dixit *pro* ait= $a d$.
 64. $\mu r_1 r_2$ + et ad init.
 $r_1 r_2$ dixit.
 65. * μ (*hiat r₁*) opus est *pro* egemus ; r_2 opus uobis . d opus habemus.
 69. $\mu r_1 r_2$ petrus autem.
 μr_1 ex (de r_1) ancillis= f .
 $\mu r_1 r_2$ dixit ([. . .]t r_1).
 71. μ illis *pro* his ; $r_1 r_2$ eis : $\mu=a$ (illi).
 72. μ dixit quia ; r_1 dicens quia ; r_2 diciens : $r_1=f$; $r_2=b$.
 74. μr_1 statim.
 75. μr_2 (*hiat r₁*) amarissime fleuit . f fleuit amare ; b amarissime plorauit.
- xxvii. 1. μr_2 (*hiat r₁*) fecerunt *pro* inierunt= $a f$.
 2. μr_1 eum adduxerunt . $a d$ eum duxerunt.
 3. μr_1 quoniam *pro* quod ; r_2 quia : $\mu r_1=d$; $r_2=a b f$.
 5. μr_1 (*e spat. ms.*) om. abiens.
 6. μr_1 eos mittere= f .
 * μr_2 corb. hoc est in oblationem (*locum r₂*) . b loculum.
 7. μr_1 autem facto.
 8. μr_1 cognominatus est.
 9. μr_1 adimpletum= f .
 μr_2 (*hiat r₁*) om. a= f .
 13. μr_1 ei.
 μr_1 testificantur= f , d testantur.
 14. * μr_1 multum *pro* uehementer.
 15. * μr_2 om. autem.
 * μr_1 consuetudo erat.
 17. μr_1 uobis dimittam= d .
 $r_1 r_2$ (*ms.*) aut *pro* an= d .
 18. $\mu r_1 r_2$ (*ms.*) tradiderunt= f . $a b d$ tradiderant.

- Matt. xxvii. 19. μr_2 eum pro illum = a d.
 20. $\mu r_1 r_2$ (ms.) autem pro uero = d .
 21. $\mu r_1 r_2$ de duobis dimittam uobis (u. dim. r_1) = d . f ex d. dim.
 uobis; b de duobus uobis dimittam; a uobis de du. mit-
 tam.
 24. $\mu r_1 r_2$ (ms.) manus suas = d .
 25. μr_1 huius pro eius = d . f .
 26. μr_1 eum crucifigerent. a b cruci eum figerent; d crucifigerent
 eum.
 27. * $\mu r_1 r_2$ duxerunt . . . et pro suscipientes.
 μr_2 (hiat r_1) praetorium = d .
 28. * μr_1 (e spat.) r_2 uestiarunt eum (om. eum r_2) tunicam pur-
 puream et. a b f induerunt eum (om. eum b) tunicam pur-
 puream et; d vestientes eum tunicam purpuream.
 30. * $\mu r_1 r_2$ expuerunt . . . et (om. et r_2). a expuebant . . . et.
 31. * μr_2 om. et sec.
 32. μr_1 cirinensem ([c]yrr. r_1).
 * $\mu r_1 r_2$ uenientem obuiam illi (sibi r_2). r_2 = a ; b d obiuam sibi
 uenientem.
 35. * μr_2 om. autem.
 38. $\mu r_1 r_2$ crucifixierunt. f crucifixissent.
 $\mu r_1 r_2$ duos = f .
 μr_2 (hiat r_1) unum pro unus pri. = f .
 $r_1 r_2$ unum pro unus sec. = f .
 40. μr_1 saluum fac.
 41. r_1 [eu]m cum; r_2 eum : r_1 = f .
 43. μr_2 filius dei.
 44. * $r_1 r_2$ crucifixierant (-runt r_2).
 45. μr_1 ab ora autem sexta = d . a ab hora sexta.
 r_1 usque in; r_2 in : r_1 = a Cyp. i. 91.
 46. μr_1 (? ms.) om. meus pri.
 49. μr_1 si uenit = a d f ; r_2 si ueniat; b si ueniet.
 μ et saluet; r_1 et salvabit.
 * μr_2 + ad fin. vers. alius hautem accipit lanciam et (accepta lancia
 r_2) pupungit latus eius et exit (exit μ) aqua et sanguis.
 50. * μr_1 exclamauit . . . et; r_2 exclamans.
 54. * $\mu r_1 r_2$ cum uidissent terrae motum. d uidentes t. m.
 $\mu r_1 r_2$ ea pro his = a (sic).
 55. $\mu r_1 r_2$ fuerant pro erant sec = a .
 $\mu r_1 r_2$ illi pro ei.
 57. $r_1 r_2$ autem sero = f .
 58. $\mu r_1 r_2$ dari pro reddi = f .
 59. μr_1 cum accepisset ioseph corpus = a . [hiat r_2 usque fin. ev.]
 60. μr_1 discessit (-et μ) pro abiit.
 65. μr_1 milites pro custodiam.
 66. μr_1 et signauerunt.

Most of these readings may fairly claim to have found place in the Irish recension of the Old Latin, and about one-fifth of them have no other pre-hieronymian attestation so far as I have been able to discover. These I have marked with asterisks. Some few of them may seem to suggest that the Irish Old Latin recension was based to some extent on a study of the original Greek. Such are the omission (supported by the Greek cursives 24*, 39, 180, 198, etc.) of a part of xxvi. 60, and the narrative of the piercing of the Saviour's side, found in the uncials **N** B C L **I** U and some cursives and versions at xxvii. 49. But M. Berger's caution (*L'Histoire* p. 34) on this subject must not be forgotten.

Among the remainder, Dr Sanday's remarks on the St Gall frag-

ment (*p*)¹ lead us to expect to find some of Italian origin. In the search for these we are indeed confined to a somewhat restricted area. The Italian origin of a reading cannot be proved, though it may be sometimes very probable, in the absence of opposing African testimony. Now, for the entire extent of our Matthew fragment the Codex Bobiensis (*k*) is wanting, the Codex Palatinus (*e*) is available only for xxiv. 12–49, xxviii. 2 *sqq.*, Cyprian's citations for xxiv. 12–31, xxv. 31–46, xxvi. 28, 29, 39, xxvii. 3, 4, 45. Or, in other words, African evidence is forthcoming only for about one-quarter of the fragment. Keeping within the limits of these passages, a few readings, supported by *f* alone among the group *a b e f* Cyp., may be classed under this head. Upon several of them, indeed, no stress can be laid: but the more significant are xxiv. 38 *usque in diem . . . noe in arcam*, xxv. 43 *suscepistis . . . cooperuistis*.

Far more important is the African element, of which no instances were brought to light by Dr Sanday's comparison of *p* with *r*₁. African readings are found in our passages from St Matthew at the following places: xxiv. 14, *per totum orbem*; xxiv. 15, *per danielum profetam*; xxiv. 30, *lamentabuntur*, or *lamentabunt se*; xxiv. 32, *cognoscitis*; xxiv. 42, *qua die uel (qua) hora*; xxv. 34, *regnum quod uobis paratum est*; xxv. 46, *isti*; and perhaps also at xxv. 40, *ex*. We may be allowed also to add xxiv. 31, *a quattuor angulis uentorum*, and xxiv. 51, *cum infidelibus*, supported by *m* alone among old Latin authorities, and xxiv. 39, *senserunt*, found elsewhere in *h m* only. We shall perhaps not be wrong in concluding that African influences played a larger part in shaping the Irish text of St Matthew's Gospel than Italian.

When, still keeping within the same limits, we come to look for coincidences with *d*, which appear so strikingly in *p*, disappointment awaits us. Three only, and those of little importance, are found: xxiv. 12, *quia*; xxv. 45, *eis*; xxvii. 45, *ab ora autem sexta*.

What, now, is the significance of these coincidences of reading? Are we to infer direct literary contact with the African and Italian texts and the text represented by *d*? By no means. M. Berger has remarked the resemblance of the text of the Codex Claromontanus (*h*) to that of *r*₁. Of the 350 variants in our passage of St Matthew in which two of the three MSS. *μ r*₁ *r*₂ are together, it supports them in about 230, or in two-thirds of the entire number. Among the readings attested by it are both those which we have classed as Italian (one however only partially), the three in which it coincides with *d*, and seven of the eleven which we regard as African. The thought is thus suggested that the Irish recension may not be in the strictest sense indigenous. The version upon which it was founded, and from which its African, Italian, and *d* elements were derived, may have been imported from the region which gave birth to the text represented by *h*. If the provenance of *h* can be fixed, we shall

¹ *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, ii. p. ccvi *sqq.*

perhaps have advanced one step towards ascertaining the local origin of the Irish Old Latin text.

§ 2. Individual readings of μ , r_1 , r_2 in St Matthew.

I now proceed to give a list of the individualisms of μ -variants, that is, in which it stands apart from both r_1 and r_2 . For the sake of completeness, I include those which appear to be mere scribe's errors, marking them, however, with an obelus. Opposite each reading is given a list of its supporters among the Old Latin MSS. $a b c d e f ff_1 g_1 h n q \delta$. Where r_1 or r_2 gives a rival variant, I have recorded it with its Old Latin supporters. In all cases where this is not done, r_1 and r_2 agree with, or at least support, the Amiatine text.

II. Readings in which μ stands alone.

- Matt. xxiv. 13. permanserit = $b c q . a$ remanserit.
 15. hautem pro ergo (*hiat r₁*).
 24. inducunt = $c f h$.
 electos = $c d f ff_1 h$.
 26. credere pro exire (*hiat r₁*) = $c ff_1$ (*sed et exire pro credere*) . r_2 om.
 exire usque nolite . b om. nolite exire.
 29. [et] statim hautem.
 eorum pro illorum.
 eorum pro caelorum.
 30. plangent se = $a c m q . r_1$ lamentabunt [t . .]; r_2 lamentabunt se
 —*vide sup.*
 31. a summo.
 35. transibunt pro praeteribunt = d (*transient*) e (*transient*).
 41. om. molentes . r_1 om. in mola = a .
 †unus (*bis*) = q .
 43. fur uenisset (*hiat r₁*) . r_2 fur ueniet . $a b c f h q$ fur uenit . $d e \delta$
 fur ueniret.
 45. om. quis putas est . $r_1 r_2$ quisnam est = $a b c f ff_1 h m . d q$ quis
 enim est.
- xxv. 1. om. et sponsae (*hiat r₁*) = δ .
 9. †nobis pro uobis sec.
 15. talio (*bis*).
 18. †habens pro abiens . $r_1 r_2$ om. abiens = $a b c d ff_1$.
 20. tradidisti mihi . r_1 mihi dedisti = $b ff_1 q$.
 21. †at pro ait.
 dominus suns (*hiat r₁*) = $d ff_1 h$.
 om. in. (*hiat r₁*).
 22. om. autem (*hiat r₁*).
 acceperat + similiter.
 dixit = $d f$.
 mihi tradidisti = $d g_1 h \delta$. r_1 mihi dedisti = $ff_1 q$. }
 †alio. }
 superlucratus (*hiat r₁*) = $d f$. }
 23. serue bone = $b c d f ff_1 g_1 q \delta$. }
 om. in. }
 om. tui. }
 26. †mala . $r_1 r_2$ nequam (*vide sup.*). }
 om. et pri. }
 †metuo. }
 29. om. ab eo (*hiat r₁*). }
 om. vvv. 22, 23 $r_2 = a$

- Matt. xxv. 30. seruum nequam . $r_1 r_2$ nequam seruum = $a b c h q$.
 32. om. eos.
 quemadmodum pro sicut = Cyp. i. 100, 112, 391.
 separat pastor . δ pastor separat vel segregat.
 33. quidem oues = δ . r_1 om. quidem = $b c d f f_1 h$ Cyp. i. 100, 112, 391.
 34. percipite pro possidete = Cyp. i. 100, 112, 391, 430.
 ab initio pro a constitutione . r_2 ab origine = $c d f f_1 \delta$ Cyp. i. 100, 112, 391, 430.¹
 38. om. autem = δ Cyp. i. 100, 112, 391 . r_1 aut pro quando autem te uidimus.
 40. †respondit (hiat r_1).
 43. nudus eram (hiat r_1) = h . r_2 nudus fui = Cyp. i. 112.
 careero fui.²
- xxvi. 6. iesus esset = f_1 .
 7. accedens.
 9. om. istud . r_1 [h]oc = d ; r_2 haec (ms.) = h .
 13. ut ubicumque.
 21. me traditur pro traditurus est me (hiat r_2) . r_1 tradet me = $a d h \delta$.
 22. contristati sunt (hiat r_2).
 24. + et ad init. (hiat $r_1 r_2$) = $c q$.
 tradetur pro uudit (hiat r_2) . r_1 uadet.
 om. de illo (hiat r_2) . r_1 [de] eo = $a d f q$.
 26. om. et pri (hiat r_2).
 et pro ac (hiat r_2) = $c h$.
 et dedit (hiat $r_1 r_2$) = $a c f q \delta$.
 29. diem illum cum illud (hiat r_2) = $b c f f_1 h$ (illum diem) q . r_1 illud
 diem cum illud.
 32. †om. postquam autem (hiat $r_1 r_2$).
 33. dixit (hiat r_2) = $a c d h$. δ ait uel dixit.
 om. illi (hiat $r_1 r_2$) = $b c$.
 si pro etsi (hiat $r_1 r_2$) = $a b c d q \delta$.
 ego enim nunquam (hiat r_2) . h ego autem numquam.
 35. si pro etiamsi (hiat r_2).
 38. + iesus ante tristis (hiat $r_1 r_2$) = $a f' h \delta$.
 39. cecidit (hiat r_2) = d .
 quod pro sicut (bis) (hiat r_2) = Cyp. i. 133.
 40. discipulos suos (hiat r_2) = $a b c d f f_1 g_1 h q$.
 dixit (hiat r_2) = $a g_1$. r_1 ait = $b c f q$.
 42. abiit hautem iterum (hiat $r_1 r_2$).
 om. si (hiat r_2) = $a h$.
 om. hic (hiat r_2).
 transire a me (hiat r_2 ; r_1 [? ms.] = A) = $f q \delta$.
 om. tua (hiat r_2).
 43. om. et pri (hiat r_2).
 44. relinquens eos (hiat r_2) = d .
 om. dicens (hiat r_2) = a .
 45. eis = $d q$.
 47. ex pro de = $a f$.
 multitudo pro turba.
 48. quem pro quemcumque = $d f g_1 h$.
 51. extendit . . . et (hiat r_1).
 52. in gladio (hiat r_1) = $h \delta$.
 53. exhibet . $r_1 r_2$ exhiberet.
 57. conuenerunt (hiat r_1) = $g_1 \delta$.
 58. in atrio sedebat.
 59. om. autem.
 61. templum hoc dei = $b c d h$. r_1 (?) r_2 t. dei hoc.
 62. testificantur aduersus te.
 64. ad dexteram = $a b c f h q$.

¹ So also Lebar Brecc, p. 450; Bernard in *Trans. R.I.A.*, xxx. p. 323.² So Lebar Brecc, p. 431: *Trans. R.I.A.*, xxx. 323.

- Matt. xxvi. 65. blasfemati.
 quid nunc adhuc.
 67. cœderunt (*hiat r₁*) . *r₂* cedentes.
 eius pro ei=c h . *r₁* om. ei (?) . *r₂* om. alii usque dederunt=a b δ.
 69. illi et tu . *r₂* ei et tu=n (*corrector*).
 72. om. et.
 iuramento+dixit . *r₁* *r₂* dicens=b c f h.
 75. om. et sec. (*hiat r₁*).
 xxvii. 1. cum factum esset (*hiat r₁*)=h.
 3. damnatus est (*hiat r₁*)=b c d g₁ q δ . f ad iudicium ductus est ; h
 indicatus est.
 5. processit . *r₁* *r₂* secessit=a b c h q.
 suspendit se=d.
 7. t̄ex illis hautem.
 17. om. ergo . *r₁* *r₂* autem pro ergo=a b c d f g₁ h q.
 19. om. enim (*hiat r₁*).
 22. t̄qui pro quid.
 23. om. illis=δ.
 pilatus pro praesis.
 24. fier. in populo=b.
 dicens coram populo.
 28. om. exuentes eum (*hiat r₁*)=a b c d q . *r₂* cum spoliassent eum.
 29. om. et pri.
 adorabant pro inludebant . *r₂* deludentes . α b c h q deludebant.
 31. calamidem cocciniam . h chlamydem et uestem purpuream.
 om. et tert.=d . *r₂* om. et duxerunt usque fin. vers.
 + eum ad fin. (*hiat r₁*) . a b cruci eum figerent ; f eum cruci-
 figerent.
 32. tollere pro ut tolleret.
 36. obseruabant (*hiat r₁*)=δ . *r₂* seruauerunt.
 37. illius pro ipsius.
 inscribtam . *r₂* scriptum est.
 38. alterum pro unus sec. . *r₁* *r₂* unum=f h q . a alter.
 39. tunc euntes pro praeterentes autem . *r₁* *r₂* transeuntes autem
 =a b c d h q.
 40. distriebas=b ff₁ h δ . *r₂* distruas=f (-es.)
 42. es discende.
 43. confidat.
 dominum . *r₁* deo suo . *r₂* deum=c d f g₁ δ . ff₁ domino.
 iam liberet eum.
 46. circa hautem horam (*hiat r₁*)=c h ; *r₂* circa uero horam . d circa
 . . . autem horam ; q δ circa autem . . . horam.
 om. nonam.
 48. arundinem . *r₁* in harundin [.] =a h.
 49. sinete (*hiat r₁*)=δ.
 51. usque ad.
 terrae motus factus est magnus=h . a terrae motum factum est
 magnum.
 52. om. multa.
 57. esset factum.
 58. +iesu ad fin. (*hiat r₂*).
 65. sicut ipsi scitis (*hiat r₂*).
 66. om. abeuntes (*hiat r₂*).
 lapidem+et discesserunt (*hiat r₂*).
 xxviii. 3. hautem pro enim (*hiat r₂*)=a b c d e f ff₁ g₁ n q δ . *r₁* et erat=h.

An inspection of this list brings to light both Italian (xxiv. 24) and African (xxiv. 35; xxv. 32, 34, 38; xxvi. 39) readings, the latter bearing about the same proportion to the former as in the preceding table. The only reading supported by *d* alone of our selected MSS. is *cecidit*, xxvi. 39. Moreover, we observe that nearly half the individual read-

ings of μ (60 out of 129) are supported by other Old Latin MSS., and may accordingly be probably assumed to be genuine readings, and not mere later corruptions of the text. This is in itself sufficient to show that even readings in which μ stands alone against, or at least without the support of, $r_1 r_2$ may be of high value. It is interesting, moreover, to mark that in a few instances (xxiv. 30 (43); xxv. 22, 23, 33, 43; xxvi. 40, 67; xxvii. 40, 43; xxviii. 3) readings of μ attested by other Old Latin texts are set over against rivals of r_1 or r_2 with similar support. This appears to suggest that there may have existed side by side in Ireland two or more recensions of the Evangelical text, closely similar, and yet appreciably differing from one another. Three of the individual readings of μ (xxiv. 15, *autem* = \aleph^c L, etc.; xxvi. 42, *om. hic* = V, etc.; xxvii. 17, *om. ergo* = 243) have Greek support. They may possibly be due to a revision of the text by the aid of MSS. of the original.

It seems unnecessary to burden these pages with tables showing the individual variants of r_1 and r_2 . It will suffice to state results. In r_1 there are about 110 such readings. Of these about 55 have other Old Latin attestation: two bear marks of African origin, xxiv. 20, *ne* (= e Cyp. i. 336), xxiv. 32, *fuerit tener* (= e); one, in itself of but little account, is supported by *f* alone among the primary manuscripts, xxvi. 29, *quia*; while *d* alone countenances xxiv. 31, *summum* for *terminos*, and xxv. 34, *praeparatum*. In r_2 we find about 175 individualisms, of which some 75 have Old Latin attestation; about 6 being African—xxiv. 21, *sed neque* (= e Cyp. i. 336), xxiv. 27, *apparet* (= e Cyp. i. 336), xxiv. 28, *ubi* (= e Cyp. i. 336), xxiv. 30, *om. tunc* (= e), xxv. 43, *nudus fui* (= Cyp. i. 112), *uenistis ad* (= Cyp. i. 100, 112, 392); and perhaps xxv. 45, *istis* (= Cyp. i. 101 [A]); one or two Italian—xxv. 36, *co-operuistis* (= f), and perhaps xxiv. 41, *altera (f alia)*; while two are supported by *d* only, viz., xxiv. 34, *generatio haec*, and xxv. 34, *ab origine*.

§ 3. Readings in which μr_1 agree (St Luke).

The Lucan fragment gives less material than the Matthean for such an inquiry as we have just now made, r_2 having here deserted us. Some results, however, may be obtained. The length of the passage and the largely increased deviation of μ from the Vulgate make it undesirable to give full lists of the readings. Of the 360 or 370 variants in which μr_1 are together, 45 coincide with *e*, which is fortunately available for nearly the entire passage, against *b f*, and may therefore be esteemed as African. They are the following:—

- Luc. iv. 13. ab eo = *a d e* : ab illo *b f*.
- 36. quis est iste sermo = *e* (quid): *d quis est hic sermo* ; *a b f quid* (quod *f*)
est hoc uerbum.
- 43. ad hoc enim ; *d e* in hoc enim : *a quia ob hoc* ; *f quia ad hoc* ;
b quia ideo.

- Luc. v. 14. *om. ipse*=*e* : *a b d f ipse*.
 22. *mala*=*e* : *d iniqua* ; *om. a b f*.
 ad eos=*e* : *d eis* ; *a b f ad illos*.
 24. *grabatum*=*d* : *a b f lectum* ; *om. e*, *sed in vers. sequ. add. grabatum post tulit*.
 33. *orationes*=*a e* : *b f obsecrationes* ; *d praecationes*.
 36. *conueniet*=*a d e* : *b f conuenit*.
 Luc. vi. 8. *surrexit et*=*e* : *a b d f surgens*.
 20. *ad pro in*=*e* : *a b d f in*.
 29. *ei*=*e* : *b f eum* ; *a d ab eo*.
 33. *ipsud*=*e* : *a b d f om.*
 34. *eis*=*a e* : *b f his* ; *om. d*.
 37. *dimitetur uobis* ; *e dimititur uobis* : *a b d f dimittemini*.
 vii. 4. *om. ad iesum*=*a d e* : *b f ad iesum*.
 6. *ibat autem cum illis iesus*=*a d (eis) e* (*abiit itaque*) : *b f iesus autem abiit (ibat f) cum eis (illis f)*.
 12. *mortuuus*=*a d (mortuum) e* : *b f defunctus*.
 30. *doctores*=*a d e* : *b f periti*.
 42. *amabit (-auit μ)* ; *e amat* : *b dilexit* ; *a diligit* ; *d f diligit*.
 43. *respondit*=*e* : *a b d f respondens*.
 47. *illi*=*d e* : *a f ei* ; *b tibi*.
 viii. 4. *qui*=*a d e* : *om. b f*.
 8. *bonam et optimam*=*a e* : *d bon. et uberam* ; *b f bonam*.
 9. *similitudo*=*e* : *a b d f parabola*.
 11. *similitudo*=*e* : *a b d f parabola*.
 14. *suffocantur (om. euntes)*=*e* : *b euntes simul suf.* ; *f euntes suf.* ; *d abientes suf.*, *a ingredientes suf.*
 15. *audiunt . . . et ([aud.] . . . et r₁)*=*e* : *a b d f audientes*.
tenent=*e* : *a b f retinent* ; *d continent*.
 17. *est enim*=*d e* : *a b f enim est*.
absconsum=*d e* : *a b f occultum*.
 19. *eius et fratres*=*d e* : *b f et fratres eius* ; *a et fratres illius*.
 22. *nauen*=*d e* : *a b f nauniculam*.
 24. *discipuli*=*a* ; *e discentes (ante dicentes)* : *om. b d f*.
 26. *in*=*a d e* : *b f ad*.
 28. *exclamauit . . . dicens*=*e* : *a b f exclamans . . . dixit* ; *d exclamauit . . . dixit*.
 49. *eo*=*a d e* : *b f illo*.
 ix. 3. *non (quater)*=*e* : *d non . . . neque . . . neque . . . neque* ; *a b f neque (quater)*.
habueritis=*e* : *a f habeatis* ; *d habere* ; *hiat b*.
 11. *eum*=*a d e* : *b f illum*.
eis=*e* : *a b d f illis*.
 24. *hic*=*d e Cyp. i. 345* : *b ille* ; *om. a f*.
 32. *cum eo erant*=*a d e* : *b cum illo* ; *f cum illo erant*.
 47. *iesus autem*=*a d e* : *b ad iesus* ; *f et iesus*.
 49. *magister*=*a d e* : *b f praecceptor*.

In twenty-one of these readings *e* alone of the group *a b d e f* supports μ *r₁*. Thus the anticipation which our experience led us to entertain, that the African element would be fairly conspicuous, is verified.

In the enumeration which follows we have of Italian readings 30 in all, or 16 if we include only those which have the support of *f* alone.

- Luc. iv. 5. *iterum*=*f* : *e secundo* ; *om. (a) b d*.
 7. *me*=*f* : *a b ante me* ; *d e in conspectu meo*.
 v. 6. *ita ut rumperentur*=*f* : *d ut etiam . . . rumperentur* ; *e ut . . . dirumperetur* ; *a b rumpebantur (-atur b) autem*.

- Luc. v. 8. rogo te=*f* : *d* rogo ; *e* oro te ; *om. a b.*
 19. et per tegulas=*af* : *e* et per teculatum ; *b* et discoperuerunt tectum
 et ; *d* et detegentes inbrices ubi erat.
 36. parabolam=*a df* : *b e* similitudinem.
 vi. 10. sicut et altera ; *f* sicut altera : *b d* sicut (+ et *d*) alia ; *om. a e.*
 16. fuit traditor=*f* (+ eius) : *b* fuit proditor ; *a* erat proditor ; *d* etiam
 et tradidit eum ; *e* tradidit illum.
 20. spiritu=*af* : *om. b d e.*
 29. praebe + illi=*df* : *a b e ei.*
 40. erit si sit=*af* : *b* erit ut sit ; *d* erit ; *e* erits.
 vii. 3. qui cum audisset=*f* : *b e* et cum audisset ; *d* et audiens ; *a*
 audiens autem.
 14. iesus=*f* : *om. a b d e.*
 17. in omnem regionem=*f* : *d* in omni regione ; *a* in omni finitima
 regione ; *b* omni confinio regionis illius ; *om. e.*
 22. iesus=*f* : *om. a b d e.*
 24. iesus dicere ; *f* dicere iesus : *a b d e* dicere.
 42. illum=*af* : *b d e* eum.
 43. autem (? sec. man. *r₁*)=*af* : *om. b d e.*
 viii. 21. at ille=*df* : *a b* qui ; *e* ille autem.
 52. enim=*a df* : *om. b e.*
 ix. 5. de pedibus uestris=*f* : *a b* uestrum de pedibus ; *e* uestrum a
 pedibus uestris ; *d* pedum uestrorum.
 16. dedit=*f* : *a d e* dabat ; *b* distribuit.
 24. eam (*bis*)=*df* : *a b e* illam.
 39. ab eo=*df* : *a ab illo* ; *om. b* ; *claus. om. e.*
 41. incredula=*df* : *a e* incredibilis ; *b* infidelis.
 42. eum sec=*f* : *om. a b d e.*
 45. hoc uerbum=*f* : *a d* uerbum hoc ; *b* uerbum istut ; *e* uerbum illud.
 intellegerent (intellex, μ)=*af* : *b d e* sentirent.
 50. sinite eum et=*f* : *a* sinite illum et ; *om. b d e.*
 51. in hierusalem=*a df* : *b* hierusalem ; *e* ad hierusalem.

In 11 readings we find coincidences with *d* alone :—

- Luc. v. 9. timor : *af* pauor ; *b* miratio ; *e* stupor.
 20. uidens autem iesus fidem eorum (illorum *r₁*) : *a* et uisa fide illorum ;
 b quorum ut uidit fidem ; *e* ille autem cum uidisset fidem
 illorum ; *f* et uidens fidem eorum.
 24. grabatum : *a b f* lectum ; *om. claus. e¹*
 viii. 4. talem ad eos (illos *r₁*) : *b* ad illos talem ; *e* talem ; *om. a f.*
 14. adferent (μ -unt) fructum : *af* dant fructum ; *b* referunt fructum ;
 e fecundantur.
 15. fructificant : *a* fructum dant ; *b e f* fructum adferent (*f*-unt.)
 17. occultum : *a b f* absconsum (-ditum *f*) ; *e* celatum.
 ix. 10. ei : *a b e f* illi.
 19. ex pro de : *a b f de* ; *om. e.*
 45. cooperunt : *af* occultum ; *e* absconsum ; *hiat b.*
 47. eorum : *a b e f* illorum.

The only unsupported readings of μ *r₁*, so far as I have observed which can be claimed as bespeaking, and that more than doubtfully, a reviser who consulted the Greek text, are v. 36 *scindetur=R* ; vii. 38 *tersit=N** A D, etc. ($\epsilon\xi\epsilon\mu\alpha\xi\epsilon\nu$).

§ 10. Individualisms of μ *r₁* in St Luke.

We come now to tabulate the African, Italian, and *d* readings found among the individual variants of our two manuscripts. It is curious

¹ But see above, p. 139.

to notice that while, as we might expect, the number of African variants in the two manuscripts is nearly equal, the Italian readings of μ exceed those of r_1 in the ratio of 4 : 1.

African readings in μ .

- Luc. iv. 11. quia= $e : b d$ et; f et quia; *om. a.*
 v. 7. cum uen. (*om. et quart.*)= $e : a f$ et uen. et; d uenientes ergo; *om. b.*
 14. uade et= $a d e : b f$ uade.
 15. de eo= $a d e$ (deo): $b f$ de illo.
 31. respondit . . . et; e respondit et: $a b d f$ respondens.
 36. *om. et pri.*= $e : a b d f$ et.
 eos= $a d e : b f$ illos.
 vi. 9. aut *pri. et tert.*= $d e : b f$ an; *hiat a.*
 20. dixit (*hiat r₁*)= $e : a b d f$ dicebat.
 31. uobis faciant= $e : a b d f$ faciant (-ciam d) uobis.
 37. iudicetur de uobis= $e : b$ de uobis . . . iudicabitur; $a d f$ iudice-
 mini.
 ne condempnemini= e Cyp. i. 139: $a d$ ut non cond.; b et non
 condemnamini; f et non condemnabimini.
 45. bona= $e : a b d f$ bonum.
 47. sit similis= $a e : d$ est similis; $b f$ similis (- $e b$) est.
 vii. 12. sequebatur cum; e consequencebatur: d cum . . erat; $a b f$ cum.
 22. et *tert.*= $e : om. a b d f$.
 25. uestitum= $e : a b f$ uestimentis indutum; d uestimentis uestitum.
 28. quia= $e : d$ quoniam; *om. a b f.*
 illo est= $a d e : b f$ est illo.
 36. recubuit= $d e : a b f$ discubuit.
 40. dicere aliquod; e dicere aliquid: $a b f$ aliquid dicere; d quod
 dicere.
 viii. 10. non est datum sed= e (nisi): *om. a b d f.*
 similitudinibus; e similitudinem (*sic*): $a b d f$ parabolis.
 14. per sollicitudinem; e per sollicitudinis (*sic*): $a b d a$ sollicitudini-
 bus; f a sollicitudine.
 16. *om. ponit sec.*= $e : a b d f$ ponit.
 omnibus luceat= $e : a b f$ intrantes uideant lumen; d qui in-
 trant uideant lumen.
 21. respondit= $e : a b d f$ respondens.
 27. exit . . et; e cum exisset; d exierunt . . et: $b f$ cum egressus
 esset; a gresso . . illo.
 28. *om. is*= $a d e : b$ is; f qui.
 29. alligabatur= $a e : d f$ ligabatur; b uinctus.
 49. *om. ei*= $e : a b f$ ei; d illi.
 51. puellae et matrem= $d e : a b f$ et matrem puellae.
 ix. 14. eos= $d e : a b f$ illos.
 25. ipsum hautem= $d e : a f$ autem ipsum; b autem.
 41. *om. et peruersa post incredula*= $a e : b d f$ et peruersa.
 47. adpræhendit . . et= $e : b d f$ adpræhendens; a adpræhensum.

African readings in r_1 .

- Luc. iv. 6. dixit= $a d e : b f$ ait.
 10. te conseruent= $e : b f$ conseruent te: $a d$ custodian te.
 17. erat scriptum= $a d e : b f$ scriptum erat.
 23. ad illos= $a e : b f$ illis; d ad eos.
 35. et nihil= $e : b$ nihilque; $a d f$ nihil.
 v. 7. paene= $d e : om. a b f.$

- Luc. v. 8. quod cum uidisset=e (om. quod) : b f quod cum uideret ; a ha
uiso ; om. d.
quoniam=d e : a b f quia.
12. om. roganuit eum (e spat.)=d e : b rogabat eum ; f rogauit eum
a orabat illum.
15. audire . . . curari=a d e : b f ut audirent . . . curarentur.
18. [in]ferre eum=e : b f eum inferre ; a inferre illum ; d inducer
eum.
28. surrexit et=e : a b d f surgens.
38. seruantur=a d e : b f conseruantur.
vi. 2. quid=a e : b ad eos quid ; f illis quid ; d ei ecce quid.
3. ad illos=e : a b f illis ; d ad eos.
21. et sicuti iustitiam=e : b et sicutiunt ; a et sititis ; om. d f.
35. quo[niam]=a d e : b f quia.
46. me uocatis=a e : b f uocatis me ; d mihi dicitis.
48. [est]enim=e : a b d f enim erat.
49. domum=a d e : b f domum suam.
vii. 6. dicens illi=e : a d f dicens ei ; b dicens.
22. renuntiate=a e : b f nuntiate ; d dicite.
34. uinarius=e : a b f bibens uinum ; d uinipotator.
37. uas=e : b d f alabastrum ; a ampullam.
42. ambobus=e : a b d f utrisque.
43. et dixit=e : a b d f dixit.
dixit=e : a b f dixit ei ; d dixit illi.
45. osculando=a e : b f osculari ; d osculans.
viii. 17. nihil=a e : b d f non.
19. ad eum pri.=d e : a b f ad illum.
24. accesserunt . . . et=e : a b d f accedentes.
magister=a e : b f praceptor ; d domine domine.
25. iesus=e : om. a b d f.
ix. 3. non calcamenti=a e : a b neque cal. ; d f om.
4. et . . . exite=a d e : b et . . . proficiscimini ; f donec exeatis.
11. excipiens=a e : b f exceptit . . . et ; d suscipiens.
12. deserto loco=a d e : b f loco deserto.
22. quo[niam]=a d e : b quod ; f quia.
32. cum eo sec.=d e : b f cum illo ; a ei.
39. subito=a e : d desubito ; b f et subito clamat.
50. om. ad illum=d e : a f ad illum ; b ad illos.
54. eos=a d e : b f illos.

Italian readings in μ.

- Luc. iv. 5. in montem excelsum ualde¹ ; f in montem excelsum : d in monte
altum ualde ; e supra montem ; om. b. ; a hierusalem.
mundi=d f : a orbis terrarum ; b e orbis terrae.
41. eos=f : e ea ; om. a b d.
19. eum cum lecto=f : a eum cum lectulo ; b illum cum lecto ;
illum . . . cum grabattum ; d grabattum cum paralytico.
24. dimittendi=f : a remittendi ; b d dimittere ; e dismittere.
31. eis=f : a b e ad illos ; d ad eos.
vi. 7. in sabbato=f : a (e spat.) b d e sabbato.
28. calumniantibus uobis=f : b d cal. uos ; a his qui calumniant
uos ; e eis qui uobis iuriuria faciunt.
42. perspicies (hiat r₁)=a f : b respicies ; d e uidebis.
vii. 10. qui languebat=f : d aegrum ; om. a b e.
15. protinus (hiat r₁)=f : om. a b d e.
21. om. in ad init.=a f : b d e in.
26. dico uobis etiam ; f ita d. u. etiam : a d etiam d. u. ; b utiq
d. u. et ; e ita d. u. et.

¹ Here, as in other cases to be mentioned presently, we have a conflate reading one member of which is found in d.

- Luc. vii. 36. in domum = *a d f : b e* domum.
 48. peccata + tua = *f : om. b d e.*
 viii. 2. ab sec. (*hiat r₁*) = *f : om. b d e ; claus. om. a.*
 11. haec est autem = *f : a b d* est autem haec ; *e* est autem . . . haec.
 12. cecidit = *f : b* seminati sunt ; *e* seminatum est ; *om. a d.*
 15. cecidit (*hiat r₁*) = *f : om. a b d e.*
 18. et sec. = *a d f : b* etiam ; *om. e.*
 29. eum = *d f : a b e* illum.
 49. ad principem = *f : a b a* principe ; *d ab* archisynagogo ; *e* puer
 principis.
 ix. 5. excutite puluerem = *d f : a b e* puluerem . . . excutite.
 illis = *a f : b d* supra (-per *d*) illos ; *e* super eos.
 39. eum pri. = *f : a b d e* illum.

Italian readings in r₁.

- Luc. v. 14. mundatione = *f : b e* emundatione ; *d* purificatione ; *a* purga-
 tione.
 vi. 38. cumulatam = *a f : b* confersam ; *d* inpletam ; *om. e.*
 viii. 14. cum audierint = *f : a b* audiunt et ; *d e* audierunt et.
 ix. 13. iesus = *f : om. a b d e.*
 18. discipuli eius = *f : b d e* discipuli ; *a* discipuli sui.
 19. respondentes = *a d f : b e* responderunt.
 54. uidentes = *a d f : b e* cum uidissent.

We must now give a list of individual readings of μ and r_1 in which the *d* element appears. It will be found specially remarkable in μ . In this manuscript we observe in the first place a constant tendency to substitute the oblique cases of "is" for those of "ille." In many instances the resulting reading is found in *d* alone of the group *a b d e f*. Examples will be found at iv. 9, 39; vi. 7, 17; vii. 12, 36; viii. 18, 22, 30, 40; ix. 2, 3, 13, 33, 42. Omitting these, we discover sixteen *d* readings. The list follows:—

d readings in μ .

- Luc. iv. 7. *om.* procedens : *a b f* procidens ; *e* prostratus.
 21. *om.* quia : *b e f* quia ; *a* quoniam.
 36. in omnes : *b f* in omnibus ; *a* = super omnes.
 v. 18. inducere : *a b e f* inferre.
 37. utres ueteres sec. : *om.* ueteres *a b e f.*
 vi. 26. homines : *a b e f* omnes homines.
 vii. 10. in domum : *a b e f* domum.
 viii. 10. scire : *b f* nosse ; *e* cognoscere ; *om. a.*
 16. cooperit : *a e f* (-riet *a*) operit ; *om. claus. b.*
 37. rogauerunt autem : *b f* et rogauerunt ; *a* et rogauit ; *hiat e.*
 46. scio (sciu*i* *d*) : *a b f* cognoui ; *hiat e.*
 49. magistrum : *a e* illum ; *f eum* ; *om. b* (?).
 56. expauerunt¹ (*hiat r₁*) ; *om. a b e f.*
 ix. 19. ex profetis prioribus² ; *d* ex profetis : *a b f* propheta . . . de
 prioribus ; *e* profetarum.
 27. filium hominis (+uenientem *d*) in gloria sua : *a b e f* regnum dei.
 51. conpleretur : *a b f* conplerentur ; *e* supplerentur.

¹ Apparently a conflation in μ .² Again, it would seem, a conflation.

The list for r_1 is not so long. It comprises, in addition to substitutions of the parts of 'is' for those of 'ille' at iv. 21, 38, viii. 45 (*ms.*), the following:—

d readings in r_1 .

- Luc. iv. 24. amen amen : *a b e f amen.*
- vi. 14. primum simonem : *om. primum a b e f.*
- 35. [iniqu]uos (? *ms.*) : *a e nequas ; b f malos.*
- vii. 12. adpropiasset (-aret *d*) : *a b e adpropinquaret ; f adpropinquauit.*
- viii. 3. illis : *a illi ; b ei ; e f eis.*
- 39. in sec. : *a b f per ; hiat e.*
- ix. 10. r_1 seorsum + in uicum¹ ; *d seorsum + in castellum (om. in locum desertum) : om. in uicum a b e f.*
- 33. faciamus (facio *d*) hic : *om. hic a b e f.*

Finally, a comparison of the lists now given for St Luke with those previously made for St Matthew brings to light the following facts. Allowing for the difference in length of the passages, and for the very small portion of the Matthean fragment for which African evidence is available, we find that the number of African variants in St Luke, attested by both μ and r_1 , is as nearly as possible what our experience of St Matthew might have led us to expect. The same remark may be made of the comparatively small group of *d* readings; though the examples of this class of variants are more satisfactory in the third than in the first Gospel. As regards these two constituents, the Irish Old Latin text appears to be homogeneous in the two passages. On the other hand, we observe in St Luke a very remarkable increase in the number of Italian variants. When we consider those readings in which μ is unsupported by r_1 , or r_1 by μ , our results are not quite identical. We find a large increase in the African element of μ , while in r_1 the African readings have increased even more notably, being about four times as numerous as might have been anticipated from St Matthew. The Italian element in μ has become very considerable, though still less important than the African; in St Matthew it was very small indeed. The Italian element in r_1 and the *d* element in both μ and r_1 are insignificant in both Gospels.

¹ A conflation.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LAST PAGE.—I. THE LITURGICAL FRAGMENT.

WE have already seen, in the second chapter of this work, that the last few verses of St John, followed by the colophon, are written on the recto of the final leaf of our manuscript. We have seen too that the task of deciphering the faded letters of the latter portion of the colophon is no easy one. When we turn the leaf and enter upon the study of its verso, our difficulties increase. At the first glance no more than a word or two appear to be legible. After I had spent some weeks upon it, however, some scarcely visible marks began to shape themselves into letters, and finally I have been able to read almost the whole page.

It was obvious to hope that chemical re-agents might restore some letters which, without the use of restoratives, were illegible. I accordingly sought permission of the Board of Trinity College to apply sulphide of ammonium to the faded writing. My request was granted. Professor Emerson Reynolds brushed the page with this application—usually so potent—and Professor Gwynn kindly undertook to watch the effect. The result has been disappointing. Photographs taken for me by Mr Greenwood Pim have enabled me to read (somewhat doubtfully) four letters which had previously escaped me, and I was made confident of one reading, about which I had had some hesitation. But with these exceptions I have been obliged to content myself with what my eyesight could reveal to me, assisted only by good light and some little patience.

Two facts at once strike us when we proceed to examine this page of the manuscript,—*first*, that the writing is in the same hand as the main portion of the book; and *secondly*, that it follows the colophon. Combining these two facts, and assuming the correctness of the hypothesis which I have advanced as to the origin of the manuscript,¹ we are entitled to infer that, unlike the biblical text, this page has no claim to represent an exemplar coeval with St Molling of Ferns, but that it was written by *an inmate of his monastery*, about the close of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century.

Of the contents of the page Mr Westwood writes,² “There is (1) an inscription on the verso of the last page (*sic*), in the same hand as the text, containing the Magnificat, part of the Sermon on the Mount, Apostles’ Creed, ‘*Patricius Epis*’, and (2) a circular table

¹ Above, p. 17.

² *Palaeographia Sacra, Irish Biblical MSS.*, ii. p. 5.

with inscriptions." The first of these we now proceed to examine, the other we reserve for the next chapter.

Of the liturgical fragment Mr Westwood's words are an approximation to a correct description, but they are no more. The document *contains* neither Magnificat nor Apostles' Creed, though both are referred to; it *does* contain "Patricius Episcopus," though a word of explanation was needed in the case of this somewhat mysterious title; and finally, it refers to several other pieces of interest which Mr Westwood has not mentioned. All this will be evident from the transcript which I now give. The document is written in one column of about thirteen or fourteen lines, each containing some thirty-five letters, towards the left of the page, as if room were left for a second narrower column to the right, which has not been added.¹ The exterior margin is very narrow. In the transcript, I have italicised letters which are not distinct enough to be read with entire confidence. Those which have been conjecturally supplied are enclosed in square brackets. The title (if any existed) is illegible, with probably a line or so of text.

----- *sent. al*
----- .—Magnificat.
— onformn. Benedictus usq ; ioh[annem babbis]tā
pcursore dñi] Uidens h̄ ih̄ turbas ascendit t
[i monte]m . b — e — n XPS illum conrici
[dead I] memoria æl̄na Patricius epis orat
[pro nobis omnibus] ut deleantur protinus peccata
[quæ commisimus] INuitata q̄ feramus pec
[tora Exaudi donec d]icis peccata plurima.—
[Maiesta]t[em]q ; imensam corici dead et conglu
[ria Uni]tas [u]sq ; ī finem.Credo ī dm pat
[noster -----] .—

1. 1. "al" perhaps = "alleluia." There are apparently two letters in the right margin between ll. 1 and 2.

1. 3. After "f" we seem to have either "o" followed by six, or "a" followed by five vertical strokes. The latter are some combination of the letters "i," "r," "m," or "n." The letter "t" at the end of the line is in the margin, and does not appear to be part of the text.

1. 4. The line over "dñi" and perhaps the "so" of "precursorem" are legible.

1. 10. The last letters are very difficult to read : see below.

1. 11. There is possibly one letter between "[Uni]tas" and "[u]sque" (?) = "i" : see below).

For the benefit of those who, like myself, are ignorant of the Irish tongue, I may note that the Rev. T. Olden tells me that "conrici dead" = usque in (literally, 'donec attingat') finem.

¹ The length of a line of writing is 5·8 cent., the breadth of the page being about 10·5 cent.

A glance through this document will suffice to show that it is liturgical in character, and that the ecclesiastical office which it represents contained at least the following parts : (1) "Magnificat"; (2) . onf . . . ; (3) "Benedictus", etc.; (4) "Uidens autem", etc.; (5) "Christus illum", etc.; (6) "[. .]memoria", etc.; (7) "Patricius episcopus", etc.; (8) "Inuitiata quod", etc.; (9) [. . .]icis peccata plurima; (10) "[. . .]q; inmensam", etc.; (11) "[. . .]tas," etc.; (12) "Credo", etc.

Can any of the parts thus described be identified? Some with the greatest ease. For example, that which is called "Magnificat" (1) is beyond doubt the hymn of the Blessed Virgin, as used at Vespers in the mediæval Church of England, and at Evensong according to the Reformed Anglican usage. That this Canticle was used in the early Irish Church we need no further assurance than that which its presence in the *Liber Hymnorum*¹ affords. Again, "Uidens autem", etc., (4) is obviously a lection from St Matt. v., "Jesus" being inserted after "autem" in agreement with the majority of MSS. of the Irish recension, including the Book of Mulling itself. Once more, "Credo", etc., (12) is the Apostles' Creed, which we know to have been commonly employed in Celtic worship.

One word more before we leave l. 11 as to its last word. It is natural to read "pat̄" as the fourth word of the Creed "patrem." And this is not impossible, for the abbreviations in our MS. are sometimes quite arbitrary. Thus "patrem" is represented by "pā" at Matt. xv. 4, 6, while the same letters stand for "patri" in the intervening verse, not to mention other instances. But, on the other hand, t̄ is almost always used for "ter." I have therefore ventured to regard "pat̄" as the first word of the Lord's Prayer (13) and to conjecture "noster" as the first of the illegible words in l. 12. That the Credo should be followed by the Pater Noster is just what we might expect. The same sequence occurs in the Book of Dimma, the Visitation of the Sick in the Book of Mulling, the Antiphonary of Bangor, and the Book of Hymns f. 30v, i.e., apparently in all the Celtic offices, not strictly Eucharistic in character, in which the Creed is found;² the Book of

¹ *The Book of Hymns of the Ancient Church of Ireland*, edited from the original manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, with translation and notes, by James Henthorn Todd; Dublin, Fasec. i. 1855, Fasec. ii. 1869. Dr Todd collated a second copy of the Book of Hymns, then in the Library of St Isidore's at Rome, but the opportunity of doing so did not occur till too late to enable him to make any considerable use of it in the two published fasciculi of his edition of the Book of Hymns. It is now preserved in the Franciscan House, Merchants' Quay, Dublin, and I have occasionally referred to it as the "Franciscan Copy." A new and complete edition of the *Liber Hymnorum* is being prepared by Professors Bernard and Atkinson, and will, it is hoped, be shortly issued to members of the Henry Bradshaw Society. In the references to the printed editions of this book throughout the present chapter I denote them by the letters *L.H.* The figures following these letters give the pages of Todd's edition. With them I supply (enclosed in brackets), by the kindness of the editors, the references to the corresponding pages of the Bradshaw Society edition.

² Compare the old Irish Tract *De Arreis*, edited by Mr Kuno Meyer (*Rev.*

Deer¹ being, of course, no exception. The word "noster," especially if written nī, would fill only a small part of the vacant space in l. 12, which appears to have contained twelve or fourteen letters. What may have followed we can only guess. But we shall possibly guess correctly, if we take for our guide a hitherto inedited page (f. 30v) of the *Liber Hymnorum* to which Professor Bernard has called my attention.² We there find the words "Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem. usque in finem. et pater noster., Ascendat oratio," etc. It is quite possible that the formula, here indicated by its first words "ascendat oratio," may have followed the Creed and the Lord's Prayer in our fragment as well as in the Book of Hymns, and that in it we have hit upon number (14). I therefore print it here, as it is found in the Stowe Missal.³

Ascendat oratio nostra usque ad tronum caritatis tuae, domine, et ne uacua reuertatur ad nos postulatio nostra, per.

After these, perhaps the piece most easily recognised is that commencing "Patricius episcopus orat" (l. oret)—(7). This was written in full, and enough remains legible to place beyond question its identity with one of the couplets added in the Antiphonary of Bangor (f. 15v), and in the copy of the Book of Hymns preserved in the Franciscan Monastery, Merchants' Quay, Dublin, to the Hymn of Secundinus in honour of St Patrick. The couplet runs as follows⁴ :—

Patricius æpiscopus oret pro nobis omnibus
ut deleantur protinus peccata quæ commisisimus.

The identification of these lines leads to the anticipation that the Hymn of St Secundinus itself, to which they are subjoined as an appendix in the only other MSS. which are known to contain them, may form one of the earlier parts of the office. And this anticipation will be strengthened when we remember that we are dealing, probably, with a *monastic service* and recall the contemporary words of the Book of Armagh,⁵ "Patricius sc̄s eps honorem quaternum *omnibus monasteriis et aeclessiis* per totam hiberniam debet habere III. Ynnum eius per totum tempus cantare . . ." If this "Hymn of St Patrick" forms part of our office, it will most probably be "Christus illum," etc. (5), or the following number. Now at first

Celtique, Oct. 1894), in which the recitation of Paters is frequently enjoined without the Credo (capp. 1, 3, 10, 13, 20, 31, 33), while the Credo never stands alone, being always either followed (14 [*cet credo* is here left untranslated], 26), or preceded (21) by a Pater.

¹ Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, p. 166.

² L. H. (i. 156).

³ Warren, *op. cit.* p. 227.

⁴ I quote from the Antiphonary, with which our MS. agrees. In the Franciscan Book of Hymns there are some variations :—

Patricius sanctus episcopus oret pro nobis omnibus
et miseratiur protinus peccata quæ commisisimus.

⁵ F. 16. a. 1 (Stokes, *Tripart. Life*, ii. p. 333).

view it may appear impossible that it should be (5); for on a reference to the *Liber Hymnorum* we discover that neither the Hymn of Secundinus, nor, indeed, any other poem in the whole collection commences with these words. The supposition, however, must not be at once set aside, for we find that the *third last stanza* of the hymn, which is alphabetical, begins with the very words of which we are in search. No other liturgical form which I have come across commences with the words "Christus illum"; these words occur in our office just at the very place where we might expect to have the Hymn of Secundinus, or possibly an extract therefrom; we may feel fairly confident therefore that in the concluding stanzas of this hymn,¹ which I now transcribe, we have discovered (5) of the office.

Xp̄s illum sibi legit in terris uicarium
qui de gemino captiuos liberat seruitio
plerisque de seruitute quos redemit hominum
innumeros de zabuli obsoluet dominio.

Ymnos cum apocalipsi psalmosque cantat dei
quosque ad edificandum dei tractat populum²
quam legem in trinitate sacri credit nominis
tribusque personis unam docetque substantiam.

Zona domini precinctus diebus et noctibus
sine intermissione deum orat dominum
cuius ingentis laboris percepturus premium
cum apostolis regnabit sanctus super israel.

We must now pause for a moment to consider a possible objection of a sceptical critic. Is it possible, at least is it likely, it may be asked, that the last three stanzas of a popular hymn should be chanted in an office such as that which we are considering, apart from the preceding portion? The likelihood does not appear to be increased by the circumstance that the verses when separated from their context do not make very obvious or very good sense.

A complete answer to this difficulty is found in a story given by Dr Todd, in his notes to the *Liber Hymnorum*, from the Lebar

¹ *L. H.*, i. 21 (i. 44).

² On the words "dei populum" the Lebar Brecc has the gloss "popūtrine," which Dr Todd, (*L. H.*, i. 22) takes to mean "populi trine, the people of the Trinity or the people of God, as in the Latin." This note receives confirmation from, while at the same time it illustrates, a phrase in the collect, "Creator naturarum," preserved in the Book of Mulling (Warren, p. 172), viz.: "has trinitatis populi tui . . . preces." In the Book of Deer (fol. 28b, Warren, p. 164) this runs "tremenitis populi tui." Probably the Book of Mulling gives us the earlier form of the collect, composed by one who thought, if he did not write the rough draft, in Irish, and translated into too literal Latin an idiom of the vernacular speech, which has been removed in the recension given in the Book of Deer. The change would be facilitated by the close resemblance of the two words "tremenitis" and "trinitatis" in the minuscule Irish character.

Brecc.¹ The story is interesting, albeit somewhat frivolous ; moreover, it not merely serves our immediate purpose of annihilating the sceptic, but throws out a hint which we shall find valuable by and by. I need scarcely apologise therefore for quoting it almost at full length.

St Secundinus (or as the narrator calls him, Sechnall) had read his adulatory hymn to St Patrick, in whose honour it had been written. "When the recitation of the hymn was concluded, Sechnall said, 'I must have reward for it,' said he. 'Thou shalt have it,' said Patrick, 'the number of days that are in a year, the same number of souls of sinners shall go to heaven, for the making of this hymn.' 'I will not accept that,' said Sechnall, 'for I think that too little, and the praise is good.' 'Thou shalt have then,' said Patrick, 'the number of the hairs that are on the casula of thy cowl, the same number of sinners to go to heaven, for the hymn.' 'I will not accept it,' said Sechnall, 'for who is the believer who would not take that number to heaven, although he were not praised by myself, nor by anyone, as thou art.' 'Thou shalt have,' said Patrick, 'seven every Thursday, and twelve every Saturday, to go to heaven, of the sinners of Erinn.' 'It is too little,' said Sechnall. 'Thou shalt have,' said Patrick, 'every one to go to heaven *who sings it lying down and rising up*.' 'I will not accept that,' said Sechnall, 'for the hymn is too long, and it is not every one that can commit it to memory.' 'Its whole grace then,' said Patrick, 'shall be upon the last three stanzas of it.' 'Deo gratias,' said Sechnall.²

"The Angel promised the same thing to Patrick upon the Cruach, viz., heaven to every one who shall sing *the last three stanzas of it at lying down, and at rising up*, as is [said by the poet],

"A Hymn, which, if sung when alive,
Will be a protecting Lorica unto all."

The interview of St Patrick with the Angel on Croagh Patrick, alluded to in the last sentence, is recounted elsewhere in the Lebar Brecc,³ but, oddly enough, without the words here quoted from it. But when we turn to the eleventh century *Tripartite Life* we find both stories. The former is abbreviated, but the final saying attributed to St Patrick occurs in it in an even more extravagant form : " ' Whosoever of the men of Ireland,' saith Patrick, ' if the *three last chapters or the three last lines, or the three last words*, shall come at death with a pure intention, his soul shall be prepared.' "⁴

¹ *L. H.* i. 33. See also Whitley Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, ii. p. 398 sqq.

² The introduction to the Hymn of Secundinus is wanting in the Trinity College Book of Hymns, a leaf having probably been lost at the beginning of the MS. The Franciscan copy, however, has an introduction, in which this story is told in a somewhat abbreviated form—the latter portion, on which our argument is built, being identical with what we find in the Lebar Brecc (see Whitley Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, p. 382 sqq.).

³ Stokes *op. cit.*, p. 476 sqq.

⁴ *Ib.* i. p. 246 sq. On the same page of the *Tripartite Life* demons are represented as saying that a certain "rich countryman . . . used to repeat two or three stanzas of Patrick's hymn . . . it was rather a satire than a panegyric on Patrick. Nevertheless by this we have been vanquished."

The other is given at full length, and in a form which satisfies the reference just cited.¹ St Patrick had, by means of his bell, succeeded in ridding Ireland from demons for "seven years and seven months and seven days and seven nights. Then the Angel went to console Patrick." His consolation consisted in offering him a number of boons from heaven in order to induce him to leave the Rick (Croagh Patrick). The conversation between the Angel and the saint is much too long to quote, but a few sentences are here printed.

"Is there aught else He granteth to me?" saith Patrick. "There is," saith the Angel: "every one who shall sing thy hymn, *from one watch to the other*,² shall not have pain or torture." "The hymn is long and difficult," saith Patrick. "Every one who shall sing it *from Christus illum to the end his soul shall not go to Hell.*"

I do not guarantee the historical character of these tales. They demonstrate, however, two facts to which I ask special attention:—
1. That it was customary to substitute for the hymn of Secundinus its last three stanzas, exactly as appears to have been done in our office. 2. That the usual time for reciting the hymn, in whole or in part, was before retiring to rest at night, and after rising in the morning.

We have now advanced so far as to have identified (5) and (7) with the hymn of Secundinus, and a supplementary stanza or antiphon added thereto in two manuscripts. It is natural to guess that the intervening number is another similar addendum to the hymn. Four such supplementary couplets are known,³ and one of them, found both in the *Lebar Brecc* and the *Liber Hymnorum* (T.C.D. MS.), is sufficiently attested by the few letters still remaining legible to have stood at this place in our MS. The couplet is as follows:—

In memoria eterna erit iustus
ab auditione mala non timebit.

The Book of Hymns has done us excellent service. We call it in to help us once more in identifying "Inuitata quod," etc. (8). No hymn in the book has these for its first words. But we discover that of which we are in search in the *three last stanzas* of the hymn of St Cummain Fota,⁴ which are as follows:—

Inuitata quo (*sic*) feramus pectora
regi regnanti ab aevo in secula
alleluia.

¹ Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, p. 114 *sqq.*

² A phrase which I do not venture to interpret.

³ The variety which exists among the five authorities for these four stanzas is remarkable. Numbering those in the Trinity College Book of Hymns 1, 2, 3 respectively, and "Patricius Episcopus" 4, they are given in the following various relative positions in the authorities. *T. C. D. Book of Hymns*, 1, 2, 3; *Antiphonary of Bangor*, 2, 4 (the order here is not quite certain); *Lebar Brecc*, 1, 2; *Franciscan Book of Hymns*, 2, 3, 4; *Book of Mulling*, 1, 4.

⁴ *L. H.* i. 80 (i. 21).

Gloria patri atque unigenito
simul regnanti spiritu cum agio
alleluia.

Nimis honorati sunt amici tui deus¹
nimis confortatus est principatus eorum
alleluia.

Again, be it noticed, the last three stanzas stand in lieu of the whole hymn,—a striking confirmation of the conclusion which has been already reached in the case of St Secundinus' poem. The most sceptical will scarcely take refuge in the supposition that three verses as a substitute for the whole was an indulgence permitted only in the case of a single lorica, and not extended to less famous compositions.

As to the identity of number (9) “[. . .]icis peccata plurima,” to which I now proceed, I have no doubt. Its position, following the concluding stanzas of the hymn of Cummain Fota, renders it probable, if any other indication is found pointing the same way, that it is one of the collects written at the end of this poem in the MSS. And such an indication we have in the words “peccata plurima,” which stand as the concluding words in the antiphon²—

Exaudi nos deus per merita apostolorum optima
ut deleantur pessima nostra peccata plurima.

Our only difficulty is to explain “icis.” If my conjecture is correct, these must be the concluding letters of a phrase equivalent to “as far as.” “Donec dicis” (a construction quite common in mediæval Latin prose), seems a not improbable guess, though it would have been more satisfactory if it had fitted the space better. The traces of the letter preceding “icis,” which still remain, suit “d,” and I have therefore inserted these words in my transcript. However the letters “icis,” be explained, it is interesting to observe that our MS. here agrees with the Franciscan Codex in omitting the collect “Per merita,” etc., which follows “Exaudi nos” in the T. C. D. Book, though the form of expression—“[. . .]icis peccata plurima,” for “conrīci dead,” or “usque in finem”—seems to indicate a consciousness on the part of the scribe that in some copies a second collect or some other subsidiary matter, was found in addition to “Exaudi nos.”

Why St Cummain's hymn should have been recited in St Molling's

¹ Dr Todd points out (*L. H.*, i. 80) that the last stanza is unmetrical, and is merely Ps. exxxviii. 17, with one various reading, and therefore cannot have been intended by the author as part of the hymn. It was certainly so regarded, however, by the scribe of the *Lib. Hym.*, as Dr Todd shows, and also, if I have reasoned correctly, by the scribe of the Book of Mulling, whose evidence is probably older by some centuries (see Whitley Stokes, *Goidelica*, 2nd ed., p. 61; *Tripartite Life*, p. ci. *sq.*).

² *L. H.* i. 80 (i. 21).

monastery is not very clear, as there appears to be no notice in historical documents connecting him either with Molling or with the district in which he lived. He was, however, famous throughout Ireland, and an elder contemporary of our saint (ob. 661. *Annal. IV. MM.*).¹

Number (10)—“[...]que imensam,” etc.—has next to be considered. We have to look for a stanza whose second word is “immensam,” and we at once perceive that the stanza of which we are in quest cannot be the first of a poem. No hymn could have for its first word a substantive followed by the conjunction “que,” and in this place q; can scarcely stand for the relative “quæ.” Thus we have one further proof, if such were needed, of the custom of reciting the last stanzas of a canticle in place of the whole. A search through the Book of Hymns will quickly convince us that number (10) is an extract from the poem “Ymnum dicat,”² ascribed to Hilary of Poictiers.³ Here are its *last three stanzas* :—

¹ We have here, it will be seen, a confirmation of the hypothesis that the page under review, and therefore also the Biblical portion of the MS. as we have it, was written, not by St Molling, but by a scribe who lived a century after Molling's death. It is unlikely that the fame of Cummain should have led to the recitation of his lorica within thirty years of his death, in a monastery with which he had no direct connection ; still less likely that the principle of three stanzas for the whole should have been applied to his poem so soon.

² This poem appears to have been used as a lorica. See Whitley Stokes, *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore* (*Anecdota Oxoniensia*, 1890), p. viii. sqq., a reference which I owe to Professor Bernard. Compare also the Book of Leinster, fol. 282a (quoted by Dr MacCarthy, *Trans. R.I.A.*, xxvii. 183), and the ancient tract *De Arreis* published in the *Revue Celtique* for Oct. 1894, capp. 26, 32. In both these passages from the Treatise *De Arreis*, the Hymn of St Hilary is enjoined for recitation with the “bait,” which Mr Kuno Meyer (p. 492) takes to mean Ps. cxviii. (A.V. cxix.). In this he follows Mr Whitley Stokes (*Book of Lismore*, p. 406). But throughout this treatise the Psalms are regularly cited by their first words in Latin (capp. 10, 18 [Ps. l., A. V.li.], 33, etc.); and to understand “bait” of this Psalm seems very unhappy in cap. 3—“lauda ¶ brait ¶ pater after each psalm.” Here we should have Ps. cxviii. referred to by an *Irish* title in the same sentence with “lauda” and “pater,” and the direction, in itself improbable, that Ps. cxviii. should be recited after every psalm. If “bait” in capp. 26, 32 were equivalent to the Beatitudes of St Matt. v. (cf. *Book of Lismore*, p. 323), we should have “Ymnum dicat” in juxtaposition with this passage (together with Credo and Pater in cap. 26) as in our fragment. The “chapters” of the “bait” *De Arreis*, 32, *Book of Lismore*, p. 180, may seem to favour the application of the word to the psalm : but the “chapters” may mean either a verse of a psalm or a single beatitude. Thus in the Preface to Ultan's Hymn (*L. H.* i. 60 [i. 14]), as frequently elsewhere, the word “chapters” is applied to the stanzas of the poem—“There are three chapters in it, and four lines in each chapter.” If this view of the meaning of “bait” be accepted, an even more remarkable parallel to our office than the passages just mentioned in the treatise *De Arreis* presents itself in the eleventh century “Second Vision of Adamnan” (Lebar Brecc ; see the *Rev. Celt.* xii. 433): “In the time that is given to God for fasting and prayer it is wrong to think of aught save the benefit of the soul both by preaching and celebration, to wit, a hundred genuflexions with a Bait, a *Magnificat*, a *Benedictus*, and a *Miserere mei Dominus*, and a cross-vigil, with Patrick's Hymn, and the Hymn of the Apostles [*i.e.* the hymn given in the Bangor Antiphonary, f. 4v sqq., or that of Cummain Fota ? see *L. H.* i. 83 (i. 18)], and smiting of hands, and a *Hymnum dicat*, and Michael's Hymn, . . . and they strike their breasts . . . and all say, ‘May mercy come to us.’”

³ *L. H.* ii. 151 (i. 36).

Maiestatemque immensam concinemus iugiter
ante lucem nuntiemus christum regem saeculo.

Ante lucem decantantes christo regi domino
et qui in illum recte credunt regnaturi cum eo.

Gloria patri ingenito gloria unigenito
simil cum sancto spiritu in sempiterna secula.

It will be observed that what we reckon—in this following both MSS. of the Book of Hymns and the majority of copies of the *Ymnum Dicat*—as the last stanza is a doxology. This doxology is in reality not part of the hymn, as the scribe of the Bangor Antiphonary seems anxious to hint to us by his punctuation (f. 4v). And indeed the same thing is evident from the fact that two other hymns in the Antiphonary close with the same words, namely, “*Ignis Creator*,” f. 11r,¹ and “*Media noctis*,” f. 11v. A St Gall manuscript of the Hymn, in fact, omits the doxology, as Professor Bernard, to whom I am indebted for much of my knowledge of this poem, has been good enough to inform me.

To make up the customary three stanzas, however, it is necessary to include it; and this appears to be the explanation of the words which I have read “*et congl[eria]*.” The letters are difficult to decipher partly because of imperfect formation in the case of the first two or three, and partly because of a rent in the vellum which crosses the last three letters of l. 10. It is thus *possible* that for *c* we should read *a* or *o*, for *o*, *a*; *n* may just as well be *r*; *g* I had for some time read as *t*, and *u* *may* be *h*. Nevertheless, I am pretty confident that the reading in my transcript is correct. By way of explanation it is only necessary to say that “*con*”=“*with*,”² and that “*gluria*”=“*gloria*” by a common substitution of *u* for *o*.³

We have already seen that the Hymn of Secundinus is followed by two antiphons. In like manner the antiphon “*Exaudi*,” etc., follows the Hymn of Cummain Fota. It may therefore be regarded as not improbable that number (11) is one of the antiphons belonging to the Hymn of Hilary (10). Now three such antiphons are known to exist, and all of them are preserved in the Trinity College Book of Hymns. They begin respectively, “*Te decet ymnus*,” “*Canticis spiritualibus*,” “*Unitas in.*” The Franciscan copy has the first two of these, while, as Professor Bernard tells me, no other known MS.

¹ Mr Warren writes (*Ant. of Bangor*, ii. 46), “It will be noticed that this doxology [to ‘*Ignis Creator*’] is written in fresher ink and by a different hand from the rest of the hymn.” If this be correct my argument is strengthened; but it does not seem to be borne out by the facsimile.

² Whitley Stokes, “*Calendar of Oengus*,” (*Transactions R.I.A.*, Irish Manuscript Series, vol. i.), p. ccxxxviii.

³ Cf. for this substitution Gilbert, *National Manuscripts of Ireland*, part i. p. vi. Many examples might be cited from the Book of Mulling, the most noticeable being the name of the scribe, the first syllable of which is elsewhere commonly written *Mol*. “*Gluria*” seems not to occur elsewhere in the MS.

of the Hymn gives any antiphons. We may fairly expect—though, of course, it must not be assumed as certain—that number (11) is one of the three just mentioned. In deciding among them we have not much to guide us. The space before “usque” is occupied with letters for the most illegible. However, the letter “t” is fairly distinct, and is followed by (apparently) two letters, *forming part of the same word*. This last consideration disposes of the claim of “Te decet.” Both the remaining antiphons have the letter “t” in a suitable position, but the preference must be given to the latter, as the marks following “t” may well represent “as,” but can scarcely be “icis.” If, as is possible, another letter is obliterated between “[Uni]tas” and “usque” it was probably “i” = in. I am inclined, therefore, to believe that number (11) is the antiphon which I now transcribe¹ :—

Unitas in trinitate deprecor Domine ut me semper trahas totum
tibi uotum uouere.

Of number (2) I can say no more than that it appears to be an Irish rather than a Latin formula. It has a parallel in “Don-fair trocaire” (“May mercy come to us”) etc., of the Second Vision of Adamnan.²

I have left for the last number (3) “Benedictus,” etc., because I cannot be quite confident that my identification of it is correct. At first, one might feel inclined to assume that it is the canticle still usually designated by this name, and used in the ancient Irish Church.³ This supposition, however, is rendered untenable by the words “usque ioh . . . ,” *i.e.*, as far as the word “iohannes,” or some case of this word, or the line beginning therewith. For, though the Benedictus has St John the Baptist for its subject, he is not mentioned in it by name. I would suggest that what is meant by the words which I have noted is an extract from the Hymn, attributed to St Columba, beginning “Noli Pater.”⁴ It consists of seven stanzas, the fourth, fifth, and sixth of which I transcribe.

Benedictus in secula recta regens regimina
iohannes coram domino adhuc matris in utero

Repletus dei gratia pro uino atque siccera

Elizabeth et Zacharias uirum magnum genuit
iohannem baptizam precursum domini.

The words of the last line, allowing for customary abbreviations, would about suit the spaces of lines 3 and 4 of my transcript, and,

¹ *L. H.* ii. 161. (i. 42). On the extreme rarity of this Antiphon see Warren, *Antiphonary of Bangor*, ii. p. 38.

² See p. 153, note 2. Similar forms are found in the treatise *De Arreis*, 12, 21 (*Rev. Celt.*, 1894, p. 495 *sq.*).

³ *L. H.* ii. 190 (i. 57).

⁴ *L. H.* ii. 262 (i. 88).

if they are inserted there, we have an exact description of these stanzas. Again, as before, three stanzas for the whole is the principle of selection. All this points to the correctness of our hypothesis that we have in these stanzas the passage referred to in number (3).¹ One difficulty only has to be met. In all the other cases in which three stanzas were chanted as a substitute for the entire hymn the three last were chosen ; and in the case of the hymn of St Secundinus, the legend to which I have already appealed implies that this was the regular and customary practice. Is it likely that the usage was different with the “Noli Pater”?

I answer that, whether *a priori* likely or not, a departure from this usage does appear to have taken place in the present instance. For the words “Benedictus usque ioh . . .” imply that only a portion of a canticle was to be sung, and that this portion did not conclude with the last verse of the hymn. Had it been so, the ordinary formula which occurs elsewhere in the office *conrīci dead*, or its equivalent *usque ī finem*, would have been used.² And, moreover, good reason can be given why precisely the portion of the hymn “Noli Pater” above quoted should be sung in preference to the last three stanzas. It is possible that for once the compiler of our office may have paid attention rather to the meaning of the words which he put into the mouths of those who used it than to traditional custom. At least this much is clear: the three stanzas just cited make good sense, and are in themselves a complete poem on St John the Baptist. They are, moreover, the only stanzas in which he is mentioned. Had the last three stanzas been chosen, the extract would have begun in the middle of a sentence and have been absolutely unmeaning as regards its first three lines, while the last stanza would have introduced an entirely new thought, apparently altogether unconnected with what immediately precedes it, and in the hymn itself (supposing that we have it in its original form) more closely associated in its idea with the opening verses. This last the MS. stanza runs thus :—

Manet in meo corde dei amoris flamma
ut in argenti uase auri ponitur gemma.

I think, then, that the probability is that the hymn described as “Benedictus usque ioh . . .” is stanzas 4, 5, and 6 of St Columba’s “Noli Pater.” The probability will be either destroyed or transformed into certainty when (if ever) a few more letters of can be read. Meanwhile we must be content to guess.

¹ It ought to be added that the combination of letters which I have read as “tā” is not exactly similar to anything which I have observed elsewhere in the manuscript. For this reason no argument can be based upon it. I have not noticed any other place in which “tam” occurs at the end of a line : but cf. the combinations used for “tio,” Mar. vii. 8, xv. 41 ; “triam,” Mar. vi. 1 ; “tia,” Mar. ix. 20 ; “tiam,” Matt. xii. 42, Joh. i. 16 ; “sti,” Matt. xxv. 24, xxvi. 25, etc.

² Yet see p. 152.

Assuming then, for the present, the correctness of our guess, we turn now to the introduction to "Noli Pater"¹ in the *Liber Hymnorum*, in order to discover what the compiler of this collection has to tell us of its origin and use. He ascribes it to the time when King Aedh granted to St Columba the site of a church at Derry. No sooner had the gift been presented than "the town was burned, with everything that was in it. . . . The fire, however, in consequence of its greatness, threatened to burn the whole Daire, so that it was to save it, at that time, that this hymn was composed. Or it was the day of Judgment he had in view, or the fire of the festival of John." Rather a liberal choice! and none the less so because the only allusions to fire in the entire hymn are the word "fulgure" in the first, and "amoris flamma" in the last stanza. It is obvious that all this is mere criticism and guess-work. Clearly the only thing in it all which rests on tradition is the ascription of the poem to St Columba. But we stand on firmer ground in the next sentence, in which the writer tells us of the customs of his own day, and which quite accounts for his anxiety to discover or manufacture allusions to fire in the hymn. "And it is sung," he adds, "[as a protection] against every fire, and every thunderstorm, from that time forth; and whosoever sings it *at bed-time and at rising*, it protects him against lightning, and it protects the nine persons whom he desires [to protect]." It was, then, a lorica, and it was used night and morning.

We have now acquired some general information as to the character of the office which forms the subject of our consideration—not such information as we might have desired, or as we may perhaps hope for in the future, but still sufficient to make a further question worth asking: What was the purpose of the office? when was it used?

If we could restore the first line or two of the page, speculation would probably be needless. The title would supply us at once with the knowledge which we seek. Meanwhile, it will have been noticed that the story from the Lebar Brecc, which I have cited in connection with the hymn of St Secundinus (5), as well as the note with which it concludes, with regard to the angel at the Cruach, and the parallel passages from the *Tripartite Life* convey definitely the information that the hymn was to be said, as a lorica, *at bed-time and rising*. A similar statement, as we have just seen, is made in the *Liber Hymnorum* about the "Noli Pater" (3). These two hints are sufficient to lead to the conclusion that the office was said daily, either at bed-time, as was Compline in the mediæval Church, or in the early morning, like Matins, or rather perhaps, at both these times.²

¹ *L. H.*, ii. 259 (i. 87). The introduction in the Franciscan copy is in some respects different. But it has the important words, "Whosoever repeats it on lying down and rising up it saveth him from every fire" (Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, p. civ.). The story is preserved, with the mention of lying down and rising up as the special times of recitation, in the Edinburgh MS. of St Columba's Life. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii. p. 482 sq.

² Possibly, however, in private. Mr Warren regards this as the more probable view. "I am inclined to think," he writes in the *Academy*, Jan. 26th, 1895,

For this conclusion we find some confirmation from the “Ymnum Dicat” of St Hilary (10). This hymn is marked off by its concluding stanzas as one eminently likely to have been used at an early morning service. The two immediately preceding the doxology, with their twice-repeated “ante lucem,” have been quoted above. Before them come the following, not less appropriate for morning use :

Ante lucem turba fratrum concinnemus gloriam
qua docemur nos futuri sempiterna secula

Galli cantus¹ galli plausus proximum sentit diem
nos cantantes et precantes quae futura credimus.

It is therefore no more than one might expect that, in the Book of Cerne, the *Ymnum Dicat* is one of two poems which follow a collection of fourteen prayers and hymns, expressly stated to be intended for use in the morning. And that the hymn was used in the morning may further be implied by the rubric prefixed to it and “Aeterne rerum” in a manuscript cited by Thomasius, “Incipiunt hymni nocturni post medium noctem ad primum gallicantum.”²

Evidence, however, which seems at first view to indicate that this poem was used at another time of the day, must not be overlooked. In the Trinity College Manuscript³ two accounts of the composition of the poem are given. The first, which is somewhat obscure, is as follows :—“Hilarius . . . fecit hunc ymnum $\overline{\chi\delta\omega}$ in monte gargani, after eating dinner (naprainne = prandium) illic in the robber’s house. And after giving thanks to God, the sons of life dwindled post till they were not bigger than infants, as that seemed unto the priest who was with them. An angel came and said to them, Nisi penitentiam egeritis in infernum ibitis. egerunt ergo penitentiam et dedit deus indulgentiam eis per istam laudem *sic nobis conuenit canere post prandium.*” The last words may seem to indicate that it was customary to sing this hymn, after the supposed example of Hilary of Poictiers, at the conclusion of a meal, rather than at bed-time or

p. 83, “that we have here a collection of formulæ . . . intended for private use by a sick person as a sort of compound *lorica* or charm.” He thus connects our fragment with the Office of the Visitation of the Sick. Against this view I have given what appear to me decisive reasons in the *Academy* of Feb. 2nd, p. 106, viz.: that it is written at the end of St John’s Gospel, the *Visitatio* following St Matthew, and being written by a different scribe. I may now add one or two words. It seems probable, as has just been pointed out, that the Office was intended for *daily* use. This is scarcely consistent with its being said only by the sick. And we find in its various parts nothing specially appropriate to sickness. The hymn “Noli Pater” was a lorica against fire and lightning. Why was protection against these more needed by a sick man than by one who was in good health?

¹ On the meaning of this phrase see Warren, *Antiphonary of Bangor*, ii. p. 60.

² Warren, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 37. It must be remarked, however, that this rubric may suggest rather midnight than the early morning: see Warren as referred to in the last note.

³ Stokes, *Goidelica*, 2nd ed., p. 98. *L. H.*, ii. 151, 162 (i. 35).

in the early morning.¹ This, however, must not be too readily assumed, for several reasons. *First*, there can be no doubt that the passages already cited in connection with numbers (5) and (3) bear witness to an established usage. To me it seems that the sentence just quoted does not go so far as this. It does not so much justify what *is* done, as state what, in the writer's opinion, *ought* to be done (*conuenit*). It has rather the sound of an apology for the practice of a few persons of special piety, than of a defence of a settled monastic rule. *Secondly*, it is a little doubtful how we are to understand the word "canere." It may seem natural to take it transitively and supply "istam laudem" (*i.e.*, the hymn of St Hilary) from the preceding clause. It is, however, equally possible that it is used intransitively, in which case no reference whatever is made to the recitation of our hymn. And so Dr Todd appears to render it.² *Thirdly*, it is to be noted that the Trinity College copy here lacks the support of the Franciscan manuscript. And *lastly*, admitting that we have here proof of the recitation of the hymn of St Hilary "post prandium," as a regular practice, this does not in any way conflict with the supposition that it was chanted at other times as well.

And, in fact, we have definite proof that this was the case. The poem is mentioned in stanza xxiv of the metrical rule of Ailbe of Emly as follows³ :—

"The *Hymnum Dicat* should be sung
At striking the bell for Canonical Hours,
All wash their hands carefully,
The brethren assume their habit."

Thus the regular use of the hymn was not restricted to the conclusion of meals. It does not, indeed, seem very likely that it was recited before every hour, as the first two lines here quoted seem to imply. The mention in the third and fourth lines of the monks performing their ablutions and donning their habit points rather to the first office of the day. And with this the context agrees. The stanza (xxii) next but one before that just quoted runs:—

The perfect observance of the Canonical hours
Is reckoned the chief rule ;
Correct *Matins*, according to the Divines,
*End of night, beginning of day.*⁴

¹ It might be argued on similar grounds that the Hymn of Secundinus was recited *before* meals. *Trip. Life*, ii. 399.

² "Thus it is our duty to sing after dinner :" to which he appends the note, "It (*i.e.* the story) does not appear to have much connection with the duty of saying grace after dinner, which, nevertheless, seems to be intended as its moral, from the words 'sic' etc." *L. H.*, ii. 162.

³ *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. viii, p. 183. The rule is preserved in a 17th century manuscript at Brussels: Stokes, *Martyrology of Gorman*, p. x.

⁴ So, as Mr Stokes kindly informs me, the last line should be rendered. The writer in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* has it, "Is at the close and the beginning of day."

Then, in stanza xxiii, the direction is given that no one is to speak “till the hour of one.” This leads us to interpret stanza xxiv as referring to the “striking of the bell” for the first Canonical hour, viz., Matins. And, in accordance with this, we have in stanza xxix,—

It is not permitted to the brethren to depart
Until the hour of Tierce, etc.

What seems to be meant is that, at the sound of the bell, the monks recited the *Ymnum Dicat*, and then assembled in the Oratory for Matins, and that they remained there till Tierce had concluded. Thus we have here further reason for believing that the hymn of St Hilary was used after rising from bed in the morning. Would it be too much to draw the additional conclusion that our office was meant to be used by the monks in private, in their several cells, before they met in the Oratory for united worship at the first Canonical hour? However this may be, our conviction as to the time of recitation of our office, in spite of the statement in the T.C.D. manuscript, may remain unshaken.

Setting aside the question of the time, there is one particular in which all the passages which have been cited agree. They all go to show that the office, whether used in the morning, after meals, or in the evening, was said *daily*. And this appears to receive some confirmation from two considerations which I shall now mention.

1. Allusion is made by Adamnan (*Vit. S. Col.*, ii. 9.) to a certain “*hymnorum liber septimaniorum sancti Columbae manu descriptus*.” This according to Reeves (*ad loc.*), was “a volume containing hymns for the various services of each day in the week.”¹ If this be so, we may infer that the daily services consisted in large part of hymns or canticles. And the inference is borne out by another passage in the same work. St Columba, as is well known, died just after the bell for matins had rung. The service proceeded as usual. And then we are told (iii. 23; Reeves, p. 239),—“*hymnis matutinalibus terminatis*”—the body of the saint was borne to the hospice. Again it is implied that a daily service consisted mainly of hymns. Such is the character of the office which we are considering, and so far our supposition is confirmed that it was intended for daily use in the monastery.

2. In the life of St Molling, preserved in Marsh’s Library, Dublin, and dating, according to Reeves, from the 14th century, the following narrative occurs.² “The King [Fianachta, from whom St Molling had procured the remission of the Borromean tribute by a trick] sent

¹ According to the Lebar Brecc Preface to the *Altus*, St Columba received from Pope Gregory the Great “the Hymns of the week, that is [a book with] hymns for each *night* of the week” (Reeves’ *Vit. Col.*, p. 318 *sq.*), which is not without its bearing on the question of the time of day at which our office was used. The Preface in the *Liber Hymnorum* (*L. H.*, ii. 221 [*i.* 63]) omits the latter clause.

² I quote from *The Ancient Life of St Molyn*, being translation of an old Manuscript preserved at Marsh’s Library, Dublin, with Notes and Traditions, by P. O’L. Dublin, James Duffy and Sons, p. 19 *sq.* A description of the so-called

the army with anger after St Molyng to kill him together with his people. The holy senior Molyng, knowing this, bade his own people to proceed more speedily on their way, praying to the Lord ; and he himself began a sacred poem in the Scotic (Irish) language, in which he named many saints, praying to them and singing their praises, commencing with a virgin and finishing with the same—that is, first making mention of the most Blessed Virgin Brigid, and at the end using the name of Mary the Mother.” A little further on the writer adds, “That sacred canticle of St Molyng is always kept with honour in Ireland, and men of good will, undertaking a journey, sing it ; and through the favour of St Molyng, and the rest of the saints whose memory is sung in it, the Omnipotent God sets them free from divers dangers.”¹

If the hymn was, as the writer of this Life asserts, kept in honour throughout the whole country, it must have been above all sung in St Molling’s own monastery at St Mullins. Why, then, is no mention made of it, so far as can now be discovered, in our office ? Perhaps because it was in the Irish tongue, which may have been sufficient to exclude it from the service of the Church.² A more probable reason, however, may be assigned. It was a lorica intended, not for daily, but for occasional use, namely, at the commencement of a journey. It would therefore be excluded from a daily office. Such then, we again infer, was the nature of the service which we have been considering.

To sum up. We have recovered in these obscure, scarcely legible lines of the Book of Mulling a sketch of—or, to use a more technical word, a kind of directory for—what appears to have been a daily office used night or morning in the monastery of St Molling of Ferns, in the early part of the 9th century. It is, I believe, the only sample of a daily service of the Ancient Irish or Scottish Church known to exist. It, is, undoubtedly, unlike the Irish Missal, of home manufacture. It certainly does not inspire us with much respect for the liturgical instinct of our fathers in the Faith, but it

“Book of Kilkenny,” of which this Life forms a part, may be found in a paper by the late Bishop Reeves, in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, second series, vol. i.—Polite Literature and Antiquities, p. 339, “On a MS. volume of Saints—chiefly Irish—now in Primate Marsh’s Library, Dublin, commonly called the Codex Kilkenniensis.” See also his *Life of St Columba*, p. xxv. sq., where it is dated “thirteenth century.”

¹ The Hymn is given in the Book of Leinster (facsimile edition, p. 308) and has been printed by Mr S. H. O’Grady in his *Silva Gadelica*, vol. i. p. 389 sq. Mr Whitley Stokes has published a translation of the first stanza in the *Revue Celtique*, t. xiii. p. 117, and the concluding stanza (misplaced in the Book of Leinster) he has been good enough to put into English for me. These stanzas in their English dress are as follows :—

O Brigit, bless our way, that evil come not to us on our journey,
O nu from full Liffey, may we safely reach home by thine aid !

Come to protect us, O Mary, O Mother of the King [of heaven]
O E’mnat, O splendid Fidhab, O fair Colmnat and O Bríg !

² Cf. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual*, p. 155 sqq.

has its interest as one of the not numerous examples of their work in this department.

It may be well to add a scheme of this service, so far as I have succeeded in restoring it. It consists of the following parts (following an illegible portion at the beginning) :—

1. The song of the B.V.M. (*Magnificat*).
2. ?
3. Stanzas 4, 5, and 6 of the Hymn of St Columba (*Noli Pater*).
4. A lection from the beginning of St Matthew v., followed apparently by a formula not yet identified.
5. The last three stanzas of the Hymn of St Secundinus (*Audite Omnes*).
- 6 and 7. Two stanzas supplementary to this hymn (*In memoria* and *Patricius Episcopus*).
8. The last three stanzas of the Hymn of Cummain Fota (*Celebra Juda*).
9. The Antiphon "Exaudi," etc., appended to this hymn.
10. The last three stanzas of the Hymn of St Hilary of Poictiers (*Hymnum dicat*).
11. The Antiphon "Unitas in Trinitate," etc.
12. The Apostles' Creed.
13. The Lord's Prayer, followed possibly by
14. The Collect "Ascendat oratio," etc.

All the parts of this office, so far as they have been identified (with the exception, of course, of 4), are found in the *Liber Hymnorum*, while, of 14 Latin Hymns in the two fasciculi of this book published by Todd, at least five are recited : a valuable proof of the use of the collection in Ireland at least a century or two before either of the MSS. of it now extant was written.¹ At the same time, the copies used at St Mullins in the 9th century must have differed considerably from both of those which we now possess. Thus, our manuscript agrees with the Franciscan copy against its rival in the insertion of "Patricius episcopus" (though with a different text) after the Hymn of Secundinus, while it sides with the T. C. D., and against the Franciscan copy, in adding "In memoria." Again, with the Franciscan copy it omits "Per merita," etc., after the Hymn of Cummain Fota, while it differs from both, but most widely from the Franciscan, in giving "Unitas in Trinitate" as the *only* Antiphon after the Hymn of St Hilary.

One or two words may be added before leaving our Liturgical Fragment. It will be observed that I argue for the existence of a practice in the ancient Celtic Church of singing three, usually the last three, stanzas of certain hymns in place of the whole. And I imagine the proof already given is sufficient ; but I am tempted to conclude this chapter by quoting some further passages, which not merely corroborate my reasoning, but themselves receive a fresh meaning when the prevalence of the practice referred to is borne in mind. The first of these is from the Preface to the Hymn of Ultan

¹ For their date see Stokes, *Tripl. Life*, vol. i. p. ci sq.

in praise of Brigid.¹ "Audite virginis laudes," says the writer, "is its beginning. The alphabetical order is in it. . . . Dicunt alii, that this hymn was originally long, but (that) there remain here only four chapters of it, viz., the first chapter *and the last three chapters*, causa brevitatis."² This is exactly as it should be. The first "chapter" would be cited, no doubt, as giving the title; the last three as being, in some sort, equivalent to the whole.

That this was actually the case we are further assured when we glance at the hymn as printed by Dr Todd.³ First come three stanzas beginning respectively with the letters X ("Xps in nostra insola") Y Z, and then the stanza—

Audite uirginis laudes sancta quoque merita
etc. etc.

This stanza Dr Todd gives excellent reason for believing not to have belonged to the original poem, in spite of the assertion of the scholiast that some reported it to be the original first verse. How, then, are we to account for its presence here? Most readily. The end of a poem in the Book of Hymns is regularly indicated by repeating under its last line the first word or two of its first stanza. Thus, after the stanza "Zona," etc., of the Hymn of Secundinus are written the words "Audite omnes,"⁴ separating the poem itself from the supplementary verses which follow. In like manner, the close of Ultan's Hymn would be marked in the MSS. by writing "Audite," with or without some of the following words of the first stanza, under the last line. When the custom of reciting only the last three stanzas produced its natural result, and the scribes only wrote, and finally only knew, these stanzas, in all likelihood the words "Audite" or "Audite virginis" would still be preserved as indicating the title of the hymn. Some scribe, seeing the words in his exemplar, and knowing another poem beginning with the same words⁵ (though not written with the same metre or assonances), supplied, as he supposed, the missing portion of the stanza by tacking on to the phrase which remained words from the other hymn.

Dr Todd, it is true, will not admit this explanation. "The suggestion," he says (p. 58), "of the scholiast's preface, that the hymn

¹ *L.H.*, i. 60 (i. 14).

² In the Franciscan copy the first two sentences are found as here quoted, but the last sentence is omitted. Whitley Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, vol. i. p. civ. *sq.*

³ *L.H.*, i. 57 (i. 14).

⁴ The Franciscan copy has the one word "Audite."

⁵ Hymns beginning with "Audite" were not uncommon. Out of twelve poems in the Antiphonary of Bangor, two begin with this word, and another has it for the first word of its second verse, the first verse being prefatory (ff. 13 v, 15 v, 17 v). These three hymns are the only strictly alphabetical compositions in the book, for that on f. 36 v is scarcely an exception. Cf. Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen*, iii. 242, "Mehrere irische Hymnen fangen mit Audite an. S. Muratori anecdota 4, 136 flg., vielleicht nach Deuter. 32, No. 671, 1." Other examples are given by Warren, *Antiph. of Bang.*, ii. p. 52.

originally consisted of a capitulum for every letter of the alphabet, is unnecessary." He forgets that the scholiast, by his "dicunt alii," informs us that he is not making a suggestion, but handing on a tradition. And the tradition, especially when supported by the considerations which I have already adduced, is excellent evidence for the fact. At the very least, the passage cited shows this, that to the writer of the Preface there was nothing strange in a poem being abbreviated by the very peculiar method which we know was applied to St Secundinus' Hymn.¹ The statement² that "Alphabetical poems containing stanzas for the last three letters of the alphabet only were common" does not in the least invalidate this testimony, unless we have direct evidence that these are complete, and not merely "abbreviated" hymns. It is, indeed, very likely that many of them are in their original form; but this is exactly what one might expect, for when it became fashionable in repeating the hymns to neglect all the stanzas but three, the fashion would very quickly follow among hymn-writers of economising labour by writing no more than the three stanzas which were all they could expect to be sung. The very existence, in fact, of a large number of hymns, such as Dr Todd refers to, is a signal confirmation of the thesis which I have endeavoured to establish, rather than an argument on the other side.

But Dr Todd's main proof, that the writer of the preface was incorrect in his account of Ultan's Hymn, is of much interest—none the less so because it completely breaks down in view of the results at which we have arrived. He appeals (p. 55) to the Basle MS. A. vii. 3,³ in which occurs what "is probably a part of an ancient office" in which St Ultan's Hymn was recited. After two hymns recited in the office have been given at full length, the words follow:—

item xps in nostra insola que uocatur.

This is proof, according to Todd, that by the compiler of the office the line "Christus in nostra insula" was regarded as the beginning of the hymn. Those who have assented to my reasoning with reference

¹ Todd seems to have been nearer the true explanation of the phenomena of Ultan's Hymn and others of the same class than he was himself aware. He remarks (p. 55, note 2), "The indulgence granted to the repetition of the Hymn of St Patrick was ultimately conceded to the last three verses of it," and then he asks, "Was it on this principle that the Hymn to St Brigid contained only the verses beginning with the last three letters of the alphabet?" If for "contained" he had written "was represented by" the question might have been answered in the affirmative.

² For the correctness of which some evidence would have been welcome. The only instance given by Dr Todd is a hymn which contains five stanzas. No instance, so far as I have observed, is met with in the Bangor Antiphonary or (with the exception of that now before us) in the Book of Hymns.

³ This manuscript is also described by F. Keller in his *Bilder und Schriftzüge*, published in the *Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*, vii. bd. iii. heft, p. 86, by Bishop Forbes, *Arbuthnott Missal*, p. xli. sqq., and by F. E. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual*, p. 185. Some interesting remarks upon it will also be found in Berger's *L'Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 115.

to the use of the hymns of SS. Secundinus, Columba, Cummain, and Hilary, in our office, will at once perceive that this argument is absolutely worthless. All our experience tends to show that it is quite unsafe to assume that hymns, when used in the Offices, were recited in their entirety.¹ And in fact we have here a fresh and most unexpected instance of the principle for which I have been contending. The hymn of Ultan is represented in the Office preserved in the Basle MS. by its *last three stanzas only*.

Having gone so far, it is worth while to notice how closely our Office and that of the Basle MS. agree in character. Both consist principally of hymns; in both we find three stanzas of a hymn used instead of the whole; in both the hymns are followed (in some cases at least) by appropriate collects; and in both there are lections, in ours from Holy Scripture, in the other from the apocryphal Epistle of Christ to Abgarus. Our Office, however, is clearly the fuller and more elaborate of the two.

Our second illustrative passage shall likewise be taken from a preface in the Book of Hymns. In that which is prefixed to the hymn of St Columba, written, as we are told, to supply the deficiencies of his celebrated "Altus" and beginning "In te Christe," our attention is arrested by these words:—²

Columcille made this hymn. . . . But some say that it was not Columcille at all that composed it, [except] from "Christus redemptor" to (?) [the words] "Christus crucem," and that is the reason why many repeat that part.

The portion, which we are here informed was alone repeated by many stands as follows³:—

Christus redemptor gentium christus amator uirginum
christus fons sapientium christus fides credentium

Christus lorica militum christus creator omnium
christus salus uiuentium et uita morientium

Coronauit exercitum nostrum cum turba martirum
christus crucem ascenderat christus mundum saluauerat.

These *three stanzas*, therefore, according to the testimony of the scholiast, were in his day recited by many in place of the entire hymn. Once again, however, Dr Todd rejects the assertion of the writer of the preface. "Perhaps," he somewhat strangely remarks,⁴ "the meaning may be" the stanzas which we have copied, together with the two which follow them and form the conclusion of the poem. But when a man makes a plain statement, why should he mean some-

¹ This applies also to Psalms. See the tract *De Arreis* (*Rev. Celt.*, Oct. 1894), cap. 13, where the words "In manus usque veritatis" are doubtless a description of the single verse Ps. xxx. 6 (A. V. xxxi. 5).

² *L. H.*, ii. 252 (i. 84). W. Stokes, *Goidelica*, 2nd ed., p. 103. Square brackets enclose words the original of which is illegible in the manuscript.

³ *L. H.*, ii. 257 (i. 85).

⁴ *L. H.*, ii. 253.

thing entirely different? It will certainly be wiser to accept the scholiast's account of the customary practice with regard to the recitation of the hymn, while we feel quite at liberty to dispute the theory held by him or others as to the origin of this practice. It seems far from improbable that, according to prevalent usage, the three stanzas printed above were regarded as the equivalent of the poem, and that *as a result* of the special honour thus assigned to them they alone came to be regarded as St Columba's composition. But however this may be, there can be little doubt that we have here another instance of the substitution of three stanzas for the whole. And it is an instance of peculiar interest from the circumstance that the three stanzas selected are not those with which the hymn concludes. This is a strong confirmation of our identification of the third element of our office with three stanzas—but not the last three—of the hymn “*Noli Pater.*” In the case of the “*In te Christe,*” the selection of three medial stanzas is established. And the coincidence is perhaps worth remarking, that for both of these poems Columban authorship is claimed by the scholiast.

Finally, we may be allowed to add two or three extracts, the meaning of which certainly needs elucidation. The gloss which the investigation now brought to an end enables us to put upon them will, it may be hoped, be obvious. The first is from the *Annals of the Four Masters*¹ (A.D. 978):—

Mugroin, Abbot of Hy, scribe and bishop, skilled in the three² verses [died].

The second is from the “*Colloquy of the Ancients*,” a story preserved in several manuscripts, and among them the Book of Lismore³ :—

To stay him therefore came Finn, in whose manner of staying an *óglæch* were special properties, one of them being that if on the mutineer he made *but three quatrains* he would incontinently become reconciled.

With this sentence we may well compare the account of the battle of Cúil Dremne in the same book, a portion of which is thus paraphrased by Mr Whitley Stokes⁴ :—

The hostile armies meet at Cúil Dremne, and Diarmait's wizard makes an *airbe druid* (“druid's fence”) between the two armies. *Colomb cille* chants three stanzas . . . and one of his men overturns the druid's fence, leaps across it, and is at once killed. Battle is then joined, and Diarmait is beaten.

¹ O'Donovan renders the italicized words “the most learned of the three divisions”: the “three divisions” being Ireland, Mann, and Alba.

² Reeves (*Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down*, etc., p. 134) supplies after “three” the words “kinds of.”

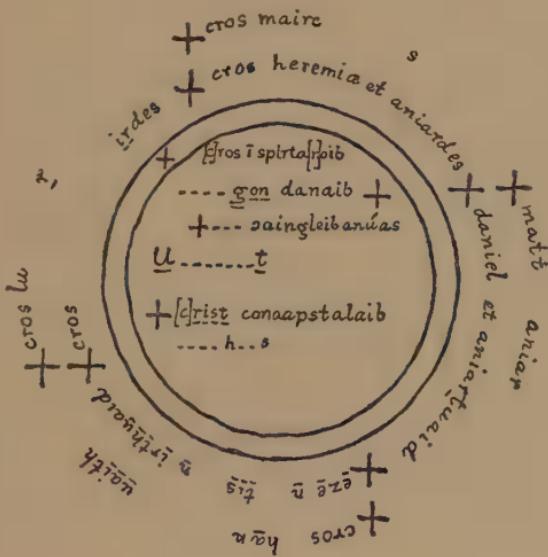
³ S. H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, ii. p. 202.

⁴ *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, p. xxviii. sq.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LAST PAGE—II. THE CIRCULAR DEVICE.

"The circular device with inscriptions" mentioned by Mr Westwood in his description of the Book of Mulling is the subject of the chapter upon which we are now entering. It occupies the lower part of the page, the upper portion of which contains the fragment discussed in the last chapter. Let me premise that about this circular device I have little to say beyond describing it as accurately as possible, and suggesting one or two questions, which I shall be obliged to confess my inability to answer satisfactorily.



Unlike the Liturgical piece which we have been considering, this device was clearly intended to occupy the whole width of the page, the common centre of the two circles, which are its most prominent feature, being only about $\frac{1}{2}$ centimetre to the left of the middle of the page. In the diagram which I now give, the dimensions of the original are preserved. It must be understood, however, that it is only a diagram, and not a facsimile, though no doubt it will be found

sufficiently accurate for practical purposes. I have replaced the Irish characters by letters of a more familiar form, and in the writing outside the circles have inserted no letters or marks which I have not actually read, with more or less certainty.

In the manuscript the diameter of the inner circle is 3·6 centimetres, of the outer, 4·2 centimetres.

I now transcribe the various lines of writing, numbering them for convenience of reference, and conjecturally supplying illegible letters where it seems certain that such letters existed.

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|-----------------|
| 1. (Outer circle of writing). | +cros mairec [ande]s | +matt aniar |
| | +cros [io]han [h]uaith | +cros lu[c --] |
| | [anoi]r | |
| 2. (Inner circle of writing). | [ano]irdes +cros heremiae et aniardes +daniel | |
| | et aniaartuaid +eze[c]h[iel -]tis[- - .a]n[o]irthu- | |
| | aid +cros [esaiae] | |

Taking next the lines within the circles in their order we have—

3. +[c]ros i spirta [n]oib
4. - - - - gon danaib +
5. + - - òaingleib anúas
6. U - - - t.
7. +[c]rist conaapstalaib
8. - - - h - - s

1. 1. At the word [ande]s is a rent in the vellum, which the binders have remedied (?) by pasting a piece of paper over the word. It consists of about five letters and the tail of i (s) is distinct. In very good light the last five letters of [h]uaith are almost certain.

1. 2. There are five or six letters after "ezekiel," but "tis" is most uncertain, especially the two last letters; t may be c. See further below.

1. 5. The correct reading of the legible words was first given by Mr Whitley Stokes in the *Academy*, August 1, 1896, p. 82. I think I can see the cross at the beginning of the line, followed by about three letters now illegible: but these must be regarded as very uncertain.

The following is a translation :—

1. +Cross of Mark south +Matthew west
- +cross of John north +cross of Luke east
2. On the south-east +cross of Jeremiah, and on the south-west +Daniel, and on the north-west +Ezekiel [- -], on the north-east +cross of [Isaiah].
3. +Cross of the Holy Spirit.
4. - - - - - with gifts +
5. + - - with angels from above.
6. ?
7. +Christ with his apostles.
8. ?

The most obvious thing to remark about this device is that it is a map or plan of some kind. This is made quite clear by the writing outside the circles, in the inner line of which the positions of the pairs of crosses are marked as south-east, etc., while in the outer the cardinal points are noted. That our figure, then, is a map or plan appears to be certain, and this is almost the only fact which one can

hold to have been established with any strong probability as to its purpose and character. I mention it here for the sake of its bearing on a problem which at once suggests itself. At what point ought we to begin to read the two outer circles of writing (ll. 1, 2)?

In answer to this question, we observe, first of all, that two starting points are excluded : those, namely, which are marked as S.W. and N.W. respectively. The word "and," which in each of these cases precedes the designation of the position of the cross, at once disposes of their claim. Our choice, therefore, is limited to the S.E. and N.E. points. Taking the former, in reading line 1, we begin with the cross of Mark, and find the evangelists named in the order, Mark, Matthew, John, Luke. In the other case the order will be Luke, Mark, Matthew, John. Now in the Book of Mulling itself the Gospel of St John was certainly intended to be placed last, as we know from the fact that it is followed by the colophon. This may seem to decide in favour of beginning the reading with the cross of Luke, and it may appear, moreover, to yield evidence on the question of the order of the Synoptic Gospels in the Book of Mulling—of which, apart from this, we know nothing.

On the other hand, it must be observed that if this conclusion be correct, the order of the Gospels in our manuscript is most unusual¹—absolutely unique, I believe, among Irish codices, which, with the exception of the Codex Usserianus, agree in this particular, in all recorded cases, with the A.V. Again, we must bear in mind that the device under consideration is a plan, and that the crosses marked on it, no doubt, represent actual stone or wooden crosses erected on the ground. Now it is probable that these crosses were planted in the order which the person who erected them was accustomed to regard as the correct order of the evangelists after whom they were named. But it is quite possible that, in setting up his crosses, he proceeded from right to left, while the scribe who indicated their places on his map could only write from left to right. If we reckon from right to left we get the conventional order Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, which appears much more likely than the other to have been that adopted by the scribe of our manuscript. The result of our argument, then, is this : The question to which we addressed ourselves is left unanswered ; it is impossible to decide whether the scribe began ll. 1, 2 at the S.E. or N.E. point ; but on the more important problem of the order of the Gospels in the Book of Mulling we have shed some little light : it must either have been Luke, Mark, Matthew, John, or Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, and more probably the latter I shall presently adduce evidence which will, as I think, convert this probability into something very nearly approaching to certainty.

One other fact may be noted with reference to ll. 1, 2. It is

¹ The order, Luke, Mark. Matthew, John, is not mentioned by Gregory, *Prolegomena to Tischendorf's N.T.*, p. 137 sq.

obvious that some sort of parallelism is suggested between the four evangelists and certain Old Testament worthies—probably the four greater prophets. It is not very easy to guess what may have been the special features which suggested a comparison between St Mark and Jeremiah, between St Matthew and Daniel; but that the fashion of pairing together saints of different eras, “who were of one manner of life,” was congenial to the Celtic mind is manifest from the lists preserved in the Book of Leinster and elsewhere.¹ In these lists prominent Irish saints are compared with saints of the Universal Church, especially those mentioned in the New Testament.² It is quite possible that similar comparisons may have been instituted between saints of the Old and New Covenants, and that of these comparisons the device before us supplies one example.³ Possibly those who are versed in the literature of the early Celtic Churches may be able to cite other similar instances.

I must content myself with a reference to one passage for a due appreciation of the importance of which the preceding paragraphs will have prepared us. It is the prayer of Colga Ua Duinechda, given in the Yellow Book of Lecan (T.C.D. H. 2. 16), col. 336.⁴ This manuscript belongs to the fourteenth century, but the prayer is much older—probably contemporary with its reputed author, not long after whose death the Book of Mulling was written. This at least appears to be the view of Dr MacCarthy,⁵ who gives the following translation⁶ of its first two clauses:—

I beseech with Thee, O Jesus holy, thy four Evangelists who
wrote thy Gospel divine, to wit, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John.

I beseech with Thee thy four chief prophets who foretold thy
Incarnation, Daniel, and Jeremias, and Isaias and Ezechiel.

The whole structure of the prayer makes it clear that, by naming in succession the evangelists and the major prophets, the writer intended to suggest a parallel between them. The prayer is, in fact, made up of a long series of pairings of the same kind. Thus, in the three following clauses we have the nine grades of the heavenly

¹ First printed by Todd, *L. H.*, i. 69 sq. Compare Olden, *The Church of Ireland*, in the “National Churches” series, p. 425; Stokes, *Martyrology of Gorman*, p. xvii.

² It is worthy of remark that one Old Testament saint—“Job of the Patience”—is mentioned.

³ It must not, however, be supposed that comparisons between the evangelists and the major prophets are peculiarly Celtic. Examples are in fact numerous in mediæval art. See Berger, *L’Histoire de la Vulgate*, pp. 210, 248, 296; and especially Mrs Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, 7th ed., vol. i. p. 140. Cf. also Ebner, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kunstgeschichte des Missale Romanum im Mittelalter*; *Iter Italicum*, p. 407, sqq.

⁴ The Prayer is found also in the Brussels MS., 5100-4. Stokes, *Martyrology of Gorman*, p. ix.

⁵ *Trans. R.I.A.*, xxvii. 156.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 178. Mr Whitley Stokes (*ub. sup.*) translates the first clause somewhat differently: “I appeal to Thee, thou holy Jesus, by the four evangelists,” etc. But our argument is not affected by the variation in rendering.

and earthly churches set over against each other, and immediately afterwards the twelve patriarchs, the twelve minor prophets, and the twelve apostles, etc.

Next let us observe that the evangelists are named in the usual order, which we have already concluded to be probably that of the Book of Mulling, viz.: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John. Moreover, the prophets are named in the order, Daniel, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Ezekiel. This can only be because, the evangelists being compared individually with the prophets, Matthew corresponded to Daniel, Mark to Jeremiah, Luke to Isaiah, and John to Ezekiel ; or because, the two groups being compared together as groups, Daniel, Jeremiah, etc., was the customary order of the greater prophets in Bibles of the period. In either case, Daniel standing under Matthew in our figure and Jeremiah under Mark, we may safely infer that Isaiah stood under Luke and Ezekiel under John. When we turn back to the MS. we find this conjecture verified in the case of Ezekiel (as shown above l. 2), though none of the letters of this name could have been read without the assistance of the hint derived from Colga's Prayer.

But further, this prayer helps us a good deal towards understanding the purpose of the exterior pairs of crosses. They must be equivalent to an invocation of prophets and evangelists. On the hypothesis that the device is a plan, we may well believe that the erection represented by the circles and the interior crosses was, as it were, placed under their protection by planting round it crosses in their honour. And here it may not be amiss to quote, by way of illustration, the closing words of the Prayer of St John the Evangelist¹: "amen matheus marcus lucas iohannes." On which Dr Todd remarks, "This is a curious example of the ancient custom of invocating the names of the Evangelists, as a protection against evil."

Yet again, there can now remain no doubt as to the order in which the crosses were erected : whoever planted them proceeded "left-wise"—i.e., in a direction contrary to the diurnal course of the sun.² We should certainly not have expected this. The Cathach of the O'Donnells was to be "sent thrice *right-wise* round the army of the Cinell Conaill" in order that they might be assured of victory in battle.³ And, to take an instance which, as will presently appear, is even more to our purpose, when the angel Victor marked out the site of the future Church of Armagh "He went *right-hand-wise* round the rampart, and Patrick behind him with his Bachall Isu in his hand, and Ireland's elders a-chanting around him."⁴ But, indeed, refer-

¹ *L.H.*, ii. 270 (i. 91).

² A fact which was pointed out to me by the Hon. John Abercromby.

³ O'Donnell, quoted by Reeves, *Vit. Col.*, p. 250.

⁴ Lebar Brecc Homily on St Patrick, Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, ii. p. 472 *sqq.* Mr Stokes' account of the practice here exemplified is scarcely justified by the evidence. He seems (*op. cit.*, i. p. clxxii) to class it as a method of showing

ences to the right-hand turn in Irish literature are very numerous.¹ The left-hand turn is less frequently alluded to, but some examples may be cited.

In the story of Cuchulainn's death² we are told that "Cuchulainn went to him (his horse). And thrice did the horse turn his left side to his master . . . Then Cuchulainn reproached his horse, saying that he was not wont thus to deal with his master . . . And Leborcham met him and besought him not to leave them . . . But he turned his chariot to the right" and proceeded on his way. Further on, somewhat similar omens of his approaching death are related.

Again in the "Scél Baili Binnbérlaig"³ we read : "They saw the horrible apparition(?) of a man coming towards them from the south . . . His left was towards the land."

Once more, the Book of Ballymote, f. 361a, has the following story⁴:—"Through pride, once on a time Boann (well knowing the well's virtue) said that there existed not any occult power able to deform her beauty, and so visited the spring : thrice she walked left-handed round it ; whereupon out of it three volumes of water spout forth over her and despoil her of a thigh, an arm, and one eye ; then to hide her disgrace she turned away and fled sea-ward, the water following her to the estuary of the Boyne."

Fourthly, the Book of Rights⁵ mentions as one of the five prohibitions of the King of Laighin (Leinster), "To go round Tuath Laighean left-hand-wise on Wednesday."

And lastly, in the narrative of the Siege of Howth⁶ we find the reverence, and says that it consists in walking "with the right hand towards the person or thing to be honoured."

¹ Besides those mentioned in the text I have observed the following : The right-hand circuit of Ireland is mentioned in *Egert.* 1782 (O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, ii. 86), in the Book of Ballymote (O'Grady, ii. 374) in the poem "The Circuit of Ireland by Muircheartach MacNeill," and in the legendary tale prefixed to it in O'Donovan's Edition, p. 21 ; a saint walks right-wise round an army to give it victory, Stokes' *Lives of Saints from Book of Lismore*, p. 240 (cf. the hag's song in *Egert.* 1782, O'Grady, ii. p. 434, and that of Caeilte in the Book of Lismore, O'Grady, ii. 210) ; Senan and the angels consecrate an island by going round it right-hand-wise (Stokes, *op. cit.*, p. 214). While apparently the right hand *turn*, as distinct from the right hand circuit is referred to in the Yellow Book of Lecan, col. 690 sq. (*Revue Celtique*, ii. 198), in the "Voyage of Snedgus and Mac Riagla" from the same book (*Rev. Celt.*, ix. 19), in the "Colloquy of the Ancients" from the Book of Lismore (O'Grady, ii. 262), in the Life of Findchua from the same (Stokes, *op. cit.*, p. 236), in the Tripartite Life of St Patrick (Stokes' *Tripartite Life*, p. 39) and in the parallel passage of the Lebar Brecc Homily on St Patrick (Stokes, *op. cit.*, p. 453). On the whole subject see Sir Samuel Ferguson, *On the Ceremonial Turn called "Desiul"* (*Proceedings R. I. A.*, 2nd ser., Ant. I. p. 355), and Stokes, *Lives of Saints from Book of Lismore*, pp. 348, 405 sq. Cf. also W. Simpson, *The Buddhist Praying Wheel*. No doubt many other instances might be added.

² Abridged from the Book of Leinster by Mr W. Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, iii. 175.

³ From Harl. 5280, f. 48a; *Rev. Celt.*, xiii. 224.

⁴ S. H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, ii. p. 520. The same story is narrated in the Bodleian *Dinnshenchas*, 36 (*Folk-Lore*, vol. iii. p. 34).

⁵ O'Donovan's Edition, p. 3. So in the Edinburgh *Dinnshenchas*, 68, one of the "three tabus of Taitliu" is "looking at it over one's left shoulder when coming from it" (*Folk-Lore*, iv. 69).

⁶ From the Book of Leinster, pp. 114b-117a; *Revue Celtique*, viii. 49.

following: "In Ireland there dwelt a hard, merciless man, to wit, Atherne the Urgent of Ulster . . . He was so called from going by Conor's counsel, on a (bardic) circuit. This is the way he went at first, *left-hand-wise about Ireland* till he made the round of Connaught," etc.

These passages may suffice to show that the left-hand circuit was regarded as presaging evil. Our attempt, whatever it may be worth, to explain the fact that it is depicted in our manuscript must be postponed to a later stage of the present inquiry.

A slight difficulty remains to be noticed. The extract from Colga has enabled us to read the name of Ezekiel under that of St John; but we might have expected to find the word Ezekiel without any addition, just as we have Daniel and Jeremiah. On the contrary, between "ezechiel" and "anoir" there are about six letters, namely, 't' (or 'c') and (but these are very doubtful) 'is'—this group of three being preceded and followed by one or two which are illegible. This may be the name of a second person coupled with Ezekiel, or more probably a descriptive epithet of the latter. What the epithet may be I am unable to guess.

But to proceed. We have seen that the device under consideration is a map or plan. But a map, we at once ask, of what? To this question I can give no answer which commends itself to me as altogether satisfactory. A suggestion, however, which has been made to me by Mr Olden is plausible, and at least deserves mention. He is inclined to think that the circles represent the Rath of St Molling, within which were his ecclesiastical buildings; the concentric circles perhaps indicating a double or even triple rampart, as in many royal residences. The settlement of an ecclesiastic, he says, his "city" (*cathair, civitas*), was exactly like that of a native chieftain, except that it would be furnished with crosses as an indication of its purpose. In support of this statement he kindly refers me to the *Life of St Fintan or Munnu*, in which we read that, when the Saint was in the woods (in the Barony of Forth, Co. Wexford), he saw three men, clothed in white garments, who told him, "Here will be your city," and they marked out in his presence seven places, in which afterwards the chief buildings of his city should be erected, and Fintan placed crosses there.¹

All this is very interesting. It suggests that the crosses in our diagram mark the sites of monastic buildings² at St Mullins; and if this can be established, the diagram itself will, it would almost seem, lead to the further inference that the buildings within the rampart were dedicated, like modern churches, to the Persons of the Blessed Trinity, or to the Saints.

¹ *Dict. of National Biography*, xix. p. 43, cf. Olden, *Church of Ireland*, p. 57.

² It is no argument against this theory that one of the buildings (represented by the cross in l. 3) must have been actually in the vallum. See the curious plan of the monastery on Oilen-Tsenach in Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture*, vol. i., p. 38.

Let us endeavour then to test the hypothesis by any evidence which may be available in addition to the Life of St Fintan to which allusion has been just now made.

The first remark to be made is that the theory which it suggests as to the meaning of the interior crosses is confirmed by several passages which appear to indicate that it was quite usual to mark the site of a church by a cross, either incised in stone, or erected in the ground, exactly as Fintan is represented to have done. According to the life in the Book of Lismore, this would seem to have been the ordinary habit of St Columba, though the sentences now to be quoted¹ are not free from ambiguity. It will be noticed that the number of crosses sained by him is exactly equal to the number of churches which he founded.

"Many then were the churches he (Colum Cille) marked out, and the books he wrote, to wit, three hundred churches and three hundred books . . . Colomb founded a church in the place where Swords standeth to-day. And he left an ancient man of his household there, even Finan the Feeble, and he left the gospel which his own hand had written. Then he marked out the well named Sord, that is 'pure,' and sained a cross. For it was his wont to make crosses, and writing-tablets, and book-satchels, and other church-gear. Now he sained three hundred crosses, and three hundred wells and a hundred tablets, and a hundred croziers, and a hundred satchels."

St Patrick's practice, as early tradition represents it, appears to have been similar to that of the later Saint. Let us take for instance the following from Tirechan's collections in the Book of Armagh² :

"Et perrexit Patricius ad fontem qui dicitur Muena, et fecit Cellam Senes quae sic vocatur. Et fuit Secundinus solus sub ulmo frondosso separatim. Et est signum crucis in eo loco usque in hunc diem."

The last sentence seems to refer to a cross marked on the ground as an indication of the site of the church which was afterwards to be built. And in this interpretation of the words we are confirmed by several passages in the Tripartite Life and Book of Armagh, of which I quote one,³ giving the references to the others in the footnote.⁴

"Then Patrick founded a cloister at A'th Maigne in Asal. A merciless man resisted him there . . . Patrick marked out with his crozier a cross in the flagstone, and cut the stone as if it were soft clay."

Sometimes, however, the Saint erected a standing cross. Witness this passage from Tirechan⁵ :

"Et ecce quidam vir uenit ad illos, nomine Macc Dregin, cum filiis septem gentilibus . . . et elegit unum filium ex ipsis cui nomen erat

¹ Stokes, *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, p. 176 sq.

² Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, ii, p. 321. The story is told also in the Tripartite Life (i. p. 111.).

³ Stokes, *op. cit.*, i. p. 79.

⁴ Stokes, *op. cit.*, p. 137, 337.

⁵ Book of Armagh, f. 14 b. 2 (Stokes, *op. cit.* ii. p. 326).

Macc Ercae . . . Extendit manum et indicauit ei locum in quo sunt ossa eius procul, et digito suo signauit locum et *crucem posuit ibi.*"

To which may be added, perhaps, a passage in the Tripartite Life¹ in which it is stated that in each of two places where St Patrick intended that monasteries should be established he "set a stake."

Then, when we turn from the interior to the exterior crosses, we find, in the first place, evidence that crosses were actually planted without the rampart in ancient ecclesiastical establishments. Thus we learn from the late Sir W. R. Wilde² that at St Kieran's Church, three miles from Kells, in the County Meath, there were five termon crosses remains of which are still preserved *in situ*, while tradition adds that there were originally eight. Four of those which survive are at the cardinal points, and we may infer that some store was set by this arrangement of the crosses, as that one which stood to the north of the Church was actually planted in the bed of the river. The Church of St Kieran must have presented a very remarkable analogy to that of St Molling with its eight exterior crosses carefully set at such points of the compass as to divide the circular rath into quadrants—if indeed our circular device really represents the monastery at Tech Molling.

From the Four Masters (A.D. 1070) we gather that Clonmacnoise also, St Kieran's principal foundation, had its exterior crosses.

And that the custom exemplified in these instances prevailed widely is shown by the direction of the *Hibernensis*:³ "Terminus sancti loci habeat signa circa se . . . Ubi cunque inveneritis signum crucis Christi, ne laeseritis."

Once again, that some of these exterior crosses should have been dedicated to the Evangelists agrees exactly with what we know from other sources. I cannot indeed produce evidence of as early date as the Book of Mulling, but the last entry under the year 1225 in the Annals of Lough Cé⁴ is worthy of our attention :

"Maelbrighte O'Maicin, abbot of Tobur-Patraic, in Christo quievit. He was a virgin and sage; and it was by him the church of Tobur-Patraic was begun, and its sanctuary and crosses were diligently finished, in honour of Patrick, and Mary, and the Apostle John."

And so too at Iona many crosses have been destroyed, and yet among the four which remain, two are named after the evangelists St Matthew and St John.⁵

In one other respect these exterior crosses agree with the analogy supplied by the remains of a monastic establishment. There exist

¹ Stokes, i. p. 149 sq. For a different explanation, see Olden, *Church of Ireland*, p. 57, and compare O'Curry, *Lectures*, p. 59.

² *The Beauties of the Boyne and Blackwater*, p. 138 sq. This passage and several of those which are cited hereafter were brought under my notice by Mr Olden.

³ xliv. 3. Wasserschleben, *Die Irische Kanonensammlung*, Leipzig, 1885, p. 175.

⁴ Hennessy, i. p. 291.

⁵ Reeves, *Vit. Col.*, p. 419 sqq.

in the island of Ardilaun or Ardoileán, off the coast of Galway, some very interesting ruins, surrounded by a cashel, unfortunately in a very imperfect state. Thirty years ago, however, when it was examined and described¹ by Mr G. Henry Kinahan, it was much more nearly in its original condition, and Mr Kinahan has placed it on record that the rampart had three doorways, facing respectively south-east, north-east, and south-west.² Of course it is possible, and one is inclined to think probable, that there had also been a north-west doorway, which in the broken state of the cashel Mr Kinahan was unable to observe. We return now to our diagram, and we find its four pairs of protecting crosses exactly at these points of the rampart. May we suppose that these also were the entrances to the enclosure? Certainly nothing could be more natural than that at the very gates of the monastery should be placed the protecting crosses dedicated to the four evangelists and the four prophets. St Fechin of Fore was probably not singular in having a cross at the door of his church.³

Up to this point all the evidence adduced has gone to support the hypothesis of Mr Olden. It has been shown that the external crosses are in their number, dedication, and position, just such as might have been found outside the rath of an ancient Celtic monastery. It has been shown too that there is nothing impossible in the supposition that the interior crosses indicate the positions of the monastic buildings within the enclosure.

Nevertheless, before producing what appears to us a further very striking and cogent argument in favour of it, we may be allowed to suggest a slight modification. In all that has been said we have assumed, or as we may perhaps rather affirm, by all that has been said we have proved that the exterior crosses do *not* represent buildings, but actual crosses of wood or stone erected on the ground. Now it must be regarded as *prima facie* likely that the crosses outside and inside the circles denote similar objects. Why then assume that those found within the circle represent buildings? We have certainly proved that this is possible, but we have not proved that it is probable. It may just as well have been that they were simply standing crosses erected for any of the other purposes, for which in ancient times crosses were used—such as to mark a grave,⁴ or to serve as a memorial of some striking event.⁵ That crosses stood thus in ancient monasteries we cannot doubt.⁶

And now, this being said, it remains to point out that Mr Olden's conjecture has received a very considerable accession of probability

¹ *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, x. p. 551 *sqq.*

² So too Dundesert cashel had "two complete entrances, one north-west, the other south-east": Reeves, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, p. 181.

³ See Colgan, as referred to in note 6.

⁴ Stokes' *Tripartite Life*, p. 325 (Book of Armagh, f. 14 a. l.).

⁵ Stokes, *op. cit.*, p. 276 (Book of Armagh, f. 3 a. l.), Reeves' *Vit. Col.*, pp. 88, 231.

⁶ See Colgan, *AA.SS.* Jan. 22, cap. 23, p. 135, quoted by Petrie, *Round Towers*, p. 172; Reeves' *Vit. Col.*, p. 269; Stokes' *Calendar of Óengus*, p. 4.

since it was first proposed. For at that time line 5 of the writing had not been read. Mr Whitley Stokes, with an acuteness which one who has made many vain attempts to discover their meaning can thoroughly appreciate, informs us that the much worn letters spell the words "coningleib anás" = "with angels from above." I fancy I can now see before this phrase the traces of a few letters and the faint marks of a cross. At any rate, it is most reasonable to surmise that if, as we have shown, our device is a map, these words indicate the spot where an apparition of angels was seen. Fortunately we know of two visions of angels, both of which occurred in the very place which *ex hypothesi* the device represents, and either of which was of quite sufficient importance to be dignified with a memorial cross if any tradition existed as to the spot where it occurred.

In proof of this statement let me ask attention to two passages, the first translated by Mr Whitley Stokes from the Book of Leinster,¹ the other kindly rendered for me by Mr Olden from the Brussels life of St Molling.² They run thus:

"Find [i.e. Mac Cumall] arose and his warriors along with him. And they set forward with their left hand to [the river] Barrow to the point of Ross Bruice³ over Barrow. The royal champion sat down on a ridge⁴ over the wood (*ross*). He beheld a host melodious, floating, in bands ascending to heaven and descending (Gen. xxviii. 12). What host is yon? say the Fian. Those are angels (says Find) even the household of the King of heaven and earth, and shavelings (*talcind*) will come here in the place in which yon angels are." Subsequently a warrior named Enan has a vision in which he sees the clerics just referred to, namely "[Saint] Molling with his community afterwards."

"He (Molling) went to Sliabh Mairge and from that went southward and beheld a watch of angels on the point of Ross Brocc over the stream pools of the Barrow."

If either of these visions of angels gives the key to the meaning of the fifth line of our inscription, we have proof that the structure of which a plan lies before us was situated on a ridge at St Mullins, and that the spot to which this line refers was within the rath of St Molling's monastery. And indeed, apart from the passages quoted, a similar explanation of the words "with angels from above" might have

¹ *Revue Celtique*, xiii. 45, 49.

² Cf. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, xiii. p. 380.

³ "The wood of the badger," another name for the place now known as St Mullins.

⁴ The expressions here used exactly describe the site of St Molling's monastery. It is situated in the angle formed by the junction of a small stream with the Barrow. This is no doubt the "point of Ross Brocc." The existing ruins are crowded together on an elevation at a considerable height above the river and about 150 yards from it, fitly described as the "ridge over Barrow." See Ordnance Survey Map, Co. Carlow, Sheet 26. It will be observed that almost identical phrases are found in the two passages given in the text.

been suggested, since stories of the places in which monasteries were to be erected being indicated by angelic visitations are not uncommon. An example which readily occurs to one is the story of Iarlaithe, to whom the "place of his resurrection" was pointed out by St Brenainn. "Then," we are told,¹ "the twain made this lay between them, while gazing at the grave-yard and the train of angels manifestly (rising) from it. And Brenainn spake the first five stanzas, and then Iarlaithe spake :

"Lofty the grave-yard of the splendid angels."

We are now perhaps in a position to make some attempt to explain the left-hand circuit of St Molling, or whoever else planted the crosses in honour of the evangelists, which has already attracted our attention as a difficulty to be solved. We have advanced so far as to be able to regard the supposition that our figure represents a monastery as at least on the level of a working hypothesis. That being so we might have expected St Molling to proceed, like the Angel Victor and St Patrick at Armagh, "right-handwise round the rampart;" why did he go in the opposite direction? A sufficient answer may possibly be suggested by the able paper of Sir Samuel Ferguson "on the Ceremonial Turn called *Desiul*" already referred to.² That writer quotes some perplexing words from the twenty-eighth book of Pliny's *Natural History*, of the meaning of which commentators had failed to give a satisfactory account: "In adorando dextram ad osculum referimus totumque corpus circumagimus, *quod in lœvum fecisse Galli religiosus credunt.*" Are we to take this as a statement that the Gauls practised the left-hand turn in religious ceremonies, and so differed from the Romans? If so Pliny's evidence contradicts what we know from other sources. Accordingly, Sir Samuel Ferguson interprets the word "religiosus" in the sense of "unlucky, ominous, inauspicious, forbidden, uncanny," and translates: "which the Gauls deem it a direful thing to do left-hand ways." "In other words," he proceeds, "the turn which was usually practised towards the right by the Romans, was sometimes, on occasions of imprecatory or malignant appeals to the gods, practised by the Gauls to the left."³ Perhaps this is the meaning of the left-hand circuit of St Molling. The monastery is placed under the protection of the Apostles and Evangelists by the erection of the crosses, while vengeance is called down upon those who may violate it by the procession

¹ Stokes, *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, p. 251 sq. Cf. also pp. 164, 285 sq. Another instance will be found in the *Prophecy of Art Son of Conn* (*Proceedings of R. I. A.*, 1895, p. 583). Con sees "the going and coming of the angels up and down" at Trevit. Following up this vision he predicts the foundation of a monastery there by St Lonan.

² Above p. 172, note 2.

³ Compare Brown's *Life and Legend of Sir Michael Scott*, Edinburgh, 1897, p. 182.

against the course of the sun.¹ But whether Sir Samuel Ferguson's explanation of Pliny's remark is correct or not, the remark itself may be cited as a parallel to that which has caused us difficulty, and so as removing the difficulty, so far as is necessary for our purpose that it should be removed.

But now what appears to the writer a more serious difficulty must be dealt with. Is it probable, it may be asked, that the monastery would be exactly circular, as on the supposition that our diagram is its ground-plan it must have been?

Now, I am well aware that by many the difficulty here stated will not be felt to be a difficulty at all. Eminent and accurate writers have made the general assertion² that the vallum in Irish monasteries "was of a circular figure." Those who accept this statement will, of course, reply to the question just now proposed that the circles in our diagram are exactly what might have been expected. So far from being a difficulty to be overcome, they are an argument in favour of Mr Olden's hypothesis. It is necessary for us, therefore, at once to state, and to give some reasons for, our belief that in most cases Irish monasteries were not circular in shape.

Literary evidence on such a subject is, naturally, not abundant. And to examine with any degree of fulness that which is supplied by the remains still existing of ancient ecclesiastical establishments is, in the space at our command, impossible. It may suffice to accept the evidence adduced by the learned writer of *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*. "It is clear," he says,³ "that in the earliest monastic establishments in Ireland, the abbot, clergy, and monks had each their separate cells, which served them as habitations, and that such other houses, as the house for the accommodation of strangers, the kitchen, etc., were all separate edifices, surrounded by a cashel or *circular wall*, and forming a kind of monastery or ecclesiastical town, like those of the early Christians in the East, and known among the Egyptians by the name of *Laura*." A few pages further on⁴ he proceeds, "In the western and southern portions of the island, in which the custom of building with stone seems to have prevailed far more generally [than elsewhere], we have still remaining abundant examples, not only of such detached monastic habitations, but of all the other buildings necessary in these early establishments." Several of the pages of the section of Mr Petrie's great work, from which these sentences have been extracted, are occupied with descriptions of some of the ancient monastic remains—five in number—which had come under

¹ Compare the Annals of the Four Masters, A.D., 1162. "Caiseal-an-urlair was erected by the successor of Columcille, who pronounced a curse against anyone that should come over it."

² Reeves' *Vit. Col.*, p. 361; Petrie, *Ordnance Survey of the County of Londonderry*, i. 213; Stuart, *Book of Deer*, p. cxlv.

³ Petrie, *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, p. 416.

⁴ P. 418.

his own observation. The first of these is the monastery on Ardoileán, or High Island, an island in the Atlantic, about two miles from the coast of Connemara. "This monastery," says Dr Petrie,¹ "is surrounded by an uncemented stone wall, *nearly circular*, enclosing an area of one hundred and eight feet in diameter." On the same page he speaks of it as "the great circular wall;" and similar language has been used quite recently by Mr R. A. S. Macalister.² Fortunately, however, the cashel had been inspected by Mr O'Donovan, and his words,³ though somewhat contradictory *inter se*, have the merit of substituting accurate figures for general descriptions: "The large round wall is nearly an oblong, measuring in length from north to south 38 yards, and in breadth, from east to west, 23 yards The most perfect part of it [is] near the N. W. corner." (!) A wall with such measurements can be termed circular only by an abuse of language. It certainly could not be represented by a circle in a plan.

Dr Petrie's second instance of a "circular enclosure," of which remains existed in the early years of this century, is that in the great island of Aran. Its shape he does not mention, possibly because at the time of his visit this could not be ascertained on account of the ruinous condition of the cashel.

He next refers to the cashel surrounding the ecclesiastical establishment of St Molaise in the island of Inishmurry. This, he tells us,⁴ "is of an *irregular* round form, and nearly 200 feet in its greatest internal diameter." From this it is clear that it could not be represented in a plan by a circle. It is, in fact, more truly described as pear-shaped than as circular.⁵

Of the remains of the monastery at Glendalough, Dr Petrie says,⁶ "Of the cashel, or wall itself, which enclosed the monastic establishment, there are but slight vestiges remaining, but these are sufficient to show that it was built without cement, and of a very irregular figure, in consequence of the inequality of the surface along which it passed, and the great extent of the area which it enclosed." And he then passes to the establishment at Clonmacnoise, on which he remarks that "from a ground-plan preserved among Sir James Ware's MSS. in the British Museum, we find that the wall which surrounded the churches and cemetery at Clonmacnoise was equally irregular in its figure as that at Glendalough; and from a similar cause,—the inequality of the surface over which it passed; but as cement was used in its construction, there is little doubt that it was of much later age than that of Glendalough."

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 420.

² *Journal of Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* for 1896, p. 202.

³ Ordnance Survey MSS., quoted by Mr Macalister, p. 209 *sq.*

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 445.

⁵ See the plan in Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture*, vol. i. p. 44. Lord Dunraven remarks (p. 45) that the irregularity in the shape of this cashel "is not to be accounted for by the nature of the ground."

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 446.

Thus of the five examples of ancient cashels mentioned by Dr Petrie not one is proved to have been circular, and four were of a different figure. Other instances might be added, such as the monastery on Skellig Michael,¹ but what has been said is sufficient to show that circular cashels were not so common as has been sometimes assumed to be the case.² Are we then to infer that the circles in our figure cannot be supposed, after all, to represent the cashel of a monastery? By no means. For, whatever view may be held as to the normal shape of the vallum, I believe that several instances of monasteries which were undoubtedly circular, may be cited.

I do not care to press the case of the *civitas* of St Cuthbert, in Farne Island, which is described for us by Bede³ in these words,— “Condidit civitatem suo aptam imperio, et domos in hac aequa civitati congruas evexit. *Est autem aedificium situ pene rotundum*” etc. It manifestly approximated to the round form, but whether closely enough to warrant its representation by a circle we cannot say. Not much more to our purpose is the description of the Ferta laid out by St Patrick at Armagh, preserved in the Tripartite Life:⁴ “The enclosure was 140 feet, the great house 27, the kitchen 17, and the oratory 7.” For, notwithstanding the acute remark of Dr Todd, that both enclosure and buildings were of a form for the measurement of which one dimension was sufficient,⁵ it scarcely follows that they were exactly circular. We must not attribute to the description the accuracy of an engineer’s specification.

But a more cogent instance is at hand. Adamnan, in the title of

¹ Lord Dunraven’s *Notes*, i p. 30. Compare also the Cashel on Oilen-Tsenach, p. 38. Reeves (*Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, p. 196) mentions a triple oval cashel in Mahee Island, Strangford Lough, and (p. 182) the Cashel of Dun-Desert, which departed so far from the round form that it is described as only “nearly circular” by one who made his report sixty years after every trace of it had been swept away, and who does not seem to have been quite accurate in the few measurements which he gives. A Scottish example is the cashel in Skye, described by Dr J. Anderson in his *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, First Series, p. 94.

² In dealing with this question I have preferred direct investigation of the evidence to an appeal to authority: none the less so since the opinion of experts must be admitted to be far from being unanimously favourable to the view which I have ventured to express. I cannot, however, refrain from quoting a sentence or two from the essay with which Miss Margaret Stokes’ sumptuous edition of the *Notes on Irish Architecture* of the late Earl of Dunraven concludes: “The resemblance,” she remarks (vol. ii. p. 136), “between the pagan and ecclesiastical fort is so strong and so significant of the same primitive condition of knowledge in the builders, that some comparative study of both monuments is required before those points of difference are discovered which may prevent us from falling into the error of supposing that all the monastic forts were originally pagan and afterwards converted to Christian uses. . . . In the first place, the pagan fortress is composed of two and sometimes three areas or wards, the interior, or fort proper, being either an oval, a circle, or half an ellipse, but with no sign of variation in the ground plan which would suggest that it was meant to enclose structures already in existence; whereas the Christian fort deviates from the regular oval or circular form so as to take in the oratories and other buildings it is intended to protect.”

³ *Vit. Cuth.*, xvii.

⁴ W. Stokes, p. 237.

⁵ *St Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, p. 478.

the fifteenth chapter of the third book of his *Vita Columbae*, mentions a certain brother who fell “de monasterii culmine rotundi¹ in Roboreti Campo,”—from the roof of the *round monastery* at Durrow. In the account of the incident in the text (which is taken from Cummian), the brother is said to have fallen “de summo culmine magnæ domus . . . quæ his in diebus in Roboreti Campo fabricatur.” The two phrases evidently describe the same building. What was it? Petrie,² followed by Reeves and Fowler,³ has little doubt that it was the Round Tower of the Monastery. Mr Whitley Stokes,⁴ on the other hand, and apparently with greater probability, identifies it with the *tech mor* or “great house.” The three later writers, however, in this advancing a step beyond Petrie, identify the “magna domus” with the “monasterium rotundum.” This is, I venture to think, unnecessary and unwarranted. Nowhere else in Adamnan is the word “monasterium” applied to a single building of the *civitas*, and du Cange gives no instance of the word used in this sense. Even at iii. 8 the “fratrum monasteria,” which at first view might appear to mean the cells of the monks, are shown by the context to be several monasteries in the Island of Tiree, in one of which lived the “congregatio” of Baithene. “Monasterium,” therefore, in the present passage must have the same meaning, unless it is impossible so to take it. I conclude that in “monasterii culmen rotundi,” occurring as it does, in the heading of a chapter, where we might expect to meet compendious phrases, we have a short way of expressing “culmen domus quæ in monasterio rotundo est.” The building so described was certainly high (“magna,” “major,” “altissima,” “enormis,” so high that a fall from it meant almost certain death; see Reeves, *ad. loc.*); it was probably or possibly round; but the thing which concerns us is, that the monastery at Durrow, with which it was connected, was round,⁵ like the monastery, if such it was, depicted in our manuscript.

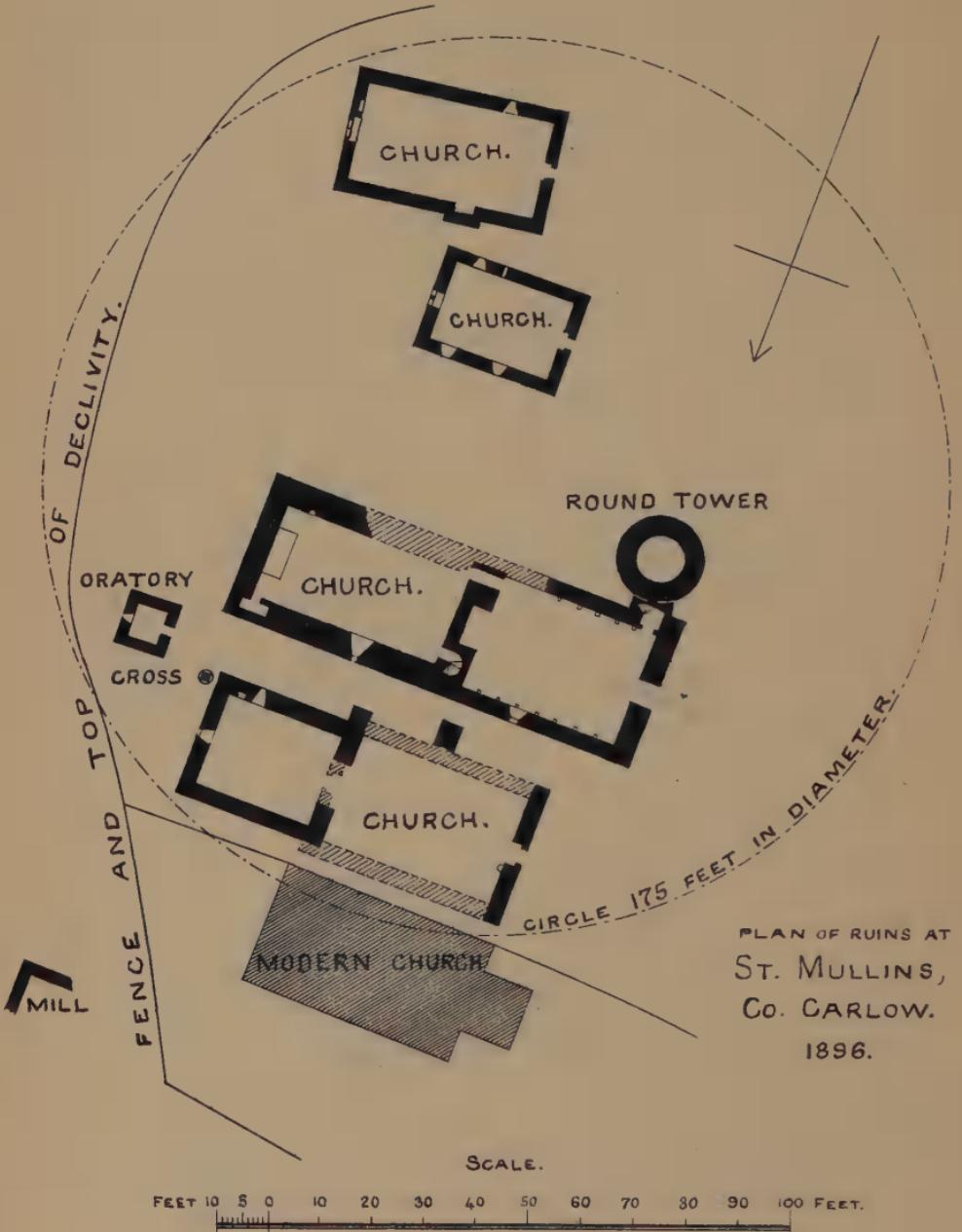
¹ With most unusual inaccuracy Reeves has in his glossary “monasterii culmen rotundum.” He was probably misled by Petrie’s argument: “Not certainly that the monastery itself had a rotund roof,” etc. Certainly not, but there is no mention of a “rotund roof” in the Latin.

² *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, p. 382 sqq.

³ *Adamnani Vita S. Columbae*, Oxford, 1894, p. 144.

⁴ *Tripartite Life*, p. clv, *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, p. 329.

⁵ A very kind and learned critic remarks, “You appear to take the word *rotundum* as descriptive of the particular monastery referred to. But as all monasteries were round, *i.e.* the *Civitas* or *Fort*, the word would convey no distinctive meaning.” To this I make answer; (1) The argument for the circular form of the monastic *buildings* is as strong (one might rather say considerably stronger) as that for the circular form of the *Civitas*. If, therefore, “monasterium rotundum” indicates the *tech mor*, or the round tower, “rotundum” is at least equally devoid of meaning. But (2) whatever the *usual* form of the monasteries may have been, I think I have proved that they were not in *all* cases round; and (3) all that is implied by the use of the word “rotundum” is that the Durrow monastery was different in shape from that in which Adamnan wrote, and with which his readers were familiar, or, in other words, that the monastery at Iona was *not* exactly circular. This may well be granted, at least till contrary evidence is produced.



And we may perhaps place along with the “round monastery” of Adamnan that which is spoken of in the following passage of Tirechan’s Collections in the Book of Armagh:¹

“Et crediderunt in Deo. Et consumpti sunt dies ululationis filiarum regis, et sepelierunt eas iuxta fontem *Clebach*, et fecerunt fossam rotundam (in) similitudinem *fertæ*, quia sic faciebant (Scotici) homines et gentiles. Nobiscum hautem reli(c) uocatu(r), id est reliquiæ, et feurt. Et immolata est (*ferta*) Deo et Patricio cum sanctarum ossibus et haeredibus eius post (se in) saecula, et aecclessiam terrenam fecit in eo loco.”

But this discussion has already exceeded its due limits. It must be brought to a close with the consideration of a question which every reader will ere this have asked: Do the remains still existing on the site of St Mulling’s monastery yield any evidence for or against the hypothesis advanced by Mr Olden? Does our supposed plan suit the topography of St Mullins? Can we point to probable sites of ancient buildings or sacred spots marked by the crosses of our scribe?

These questions occurred to me the moment I received from Mr Olden the suggestion which has been considered in this chapter. And I anticipated that in seeking an answer to them much help would be derived from an excellent paper entitled “St Mullins, co. Carlow,” with plans of the ruins as they were in 1892, published by the Rev J. F. M. ffrench in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, part iv. vol. ii., fifth series, p. 377. But actual trial quickly convinced me that this paper, by itself, does not supply sufficient material for our purpose. Very gladly, therefore, I availed myself of the kind invitation of Mrs Kavanagh of Borris Lodge to visit St Mullins and see with my own eyes the spot which has such interest for all students of the ecclesiastical history of Ireland. Shortly after Easter 1896, armed with Mr ffrench’s paper and accompanied by my friend J. H. Cunningham, Esq., C.E., Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, I spent a few pleasant hours at Ross Brocc. Our time was short, but Mr Cunningham’s presence enabled me to make good use of it. At my request he made some measurements, and drew the plan which is reproduced on the opposite page. It is founded on that made by Mr Cochrane for Mr ffrench, but gives the results of excavations made since it was published, and marks some details which it did not record.² It is so

¹ Book of Armagh, f. 12, b. 1. Stokes’ *Tripartite Life*, p. 317. We might add also, the cashels at Shankill in the Ards, and Killyhurragh in the parish of Ardclinis, Co. Antrim, mentioned by Reeves in his *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore*, pp. 23, 299. But the degree of precision with which he uses the word “circular” applied to both these must remain doubtful.

² Such are the western doorway in the building with which the round tower is connected, another doorway in the wall which divides it into two parts, the lower part of an altar at the east end of the same building, and a piscina in its south wall. Also a small window slit in the south wall of the small church lying next to it on the south.

placed that the points of the compass agree as nearly as possible with those indicated in the device reproduced from our manuscript on p. 167.

The first remark to be made is that the ruins are situated on the level top of a ridge (no doubt that which is mentioned in two passages which have been already cited¹) which descends abruptly on its eastern, northern, and southern sides.² The limits of the monastery on these three sides are therefore pretty clearly defined. The fence marked in the plan indicates the place at which this sharp declivity begins to descend.

There is no sign of a rath, a circumstance which need cause us no surprise. Its absence, however, deprives us of the power of testing our theory in one important particular. But it should be observed that a circle of about 175 feet in diameter can be drawn lying almost wholly within the fence, and yet including all the existing ruins. Such a circle is indicated by the dotted line in the plan. A round monastery, therefore, of about the normal dimensions³ may very well have at one time occupied the crown of the ridge.

When we seek to identify the crosses in our manuscript with sacred spots on the ancient site at St Mullins we are at once met by difficulties. With one exception,⁴ all the existing buildings are evidently of much later date than the ninth century. It might be argued that the more modern structures were erected on the spots formerly occupied by buildings of the ancient *civitas*. But this is in itself disputable,⁵ and in any case these earlier buildings were probably smaller than their successors, and it is, therefore, impossible to decide where the crosses representing them should be placed. The exception to the modern character of the buildings is that which is marked as

¹ Above p. 177.

² See the drawing of St Molling's Well which accompanies Mr French's paper.

³ The rath of St Patrick at Armagh, which was regarded as the standard, measured 140 feet, see above p. 181. It may be remarked that a circle of about 150 feet diameter, concentric with that in the plan, would include the oratory of St James and all the other churches, with the exception of small portions of those to the north and south. On the supposition that these later buildings stood on the sites of smaller chapels of early date, the latter might well have been included within a rath of this measurement.

⁴ The building over the well with the antique appearance of which Mr French was so much impressed (p. 384) does not appear to have any claim to be regarded as of very early date. The "inclining jambs" of its doorway both incline *in the same direction*, and the fact that its breadth at the sill is greater than at the top is due, not to the intention of the builder, but to the fact that the stone next the lintel on the right is not squared. These phenomena point to bad masonry, but all bad masonry is not old. And the projections of the side walls, on which Mr French lays stress, are smaller than those described by Brash.

⁵ In one case—that of the present Parish Church—this supposition seems to be almost demonstrably incorrect. It stands outside the cemetery. I was told by the forester on the Kavanagh estate that his father had assisted at the building of the church. According to his account an attempt was made to build the church partly inside the ancient graveyard. The peasantry, however, offered violent resistance, and in consequence it was placed wholly without the boundary. It is unlikely that one of the old churches was outside the burying ground, or that the people, who had already displayed such strong feeling, would have permitted such a building to be destroyed in order to make room for a Protestant church.

the Oratory. This little chapel appears to correspond in position to the cross at the beginning of the seventh line of our device, while the fragmentary cross¹ to the east of the *Teampul mor* may answer to that which had its place (if we may suppose that this was so) at the beginning of l. 8. But here we cannot speak with assurance: for another difficulty remains: the position of the ancient rath cannot be accurately determined, and we can therefore do no more than conjecture, with whatever degree of probability, how the oratory and the cross stood with reference to it.

To conclude, topographical evidence has not helped us much. It leaves Mr Olden's suggestion nearly as it was before—a hypothesis highly plausible in itself, not indeed altogether free from difficulties (more or less grave), but by no means improbable—yet still only a hypothesis: a theory which is not, perhaps cannot be, either proved or disproved. As a hypothesis it may well hold the field till something more probable is proposed to occupy its place.

And now the last line of this little book has been penned. To the writer its preparation has been a constant source of pleasure. It has for some years occupied hours of leisure snatched from the many cares of pastoral work in a large city. If it stirs up some student, with more time for research and greater skill for handling the subjects with which it deals, to keener interest in a too little known relic of the ancient Celtic Church of Ireland, its purpose will have been accomplished.

LAUS DEO.

² The sides of this cross are decorated with interlaced work, and not, as Mr French says, with "a kind of lozenge pattern."

APPENDIX A.

THE OLD LATIN PORTIONS OF "THE GARLAND OF HOWTH."

FOR a description of the manuscript of the four Gospels known as the "Garland of Howth" (T.C.D. A.4. 6), and usually designated by the symbol *r*₂, the reader may be referred to Professor Abbott's *Evangeliorum Versio Antehieronymiana, Præfatio*, pp. xiv.—xviii. I have already given reasons for my belief that the latter portion of St Matthew, printed in this appendix, is the only fragment of genuine Old Latin text which the manuscript preserves.¹ Professor Abbott² regards the whole of the first gospel as pre-hieronymian in character. M. Berger, on the other hand, describes it as approaching nearer to the ancient version than, for example, the Book of Kells, but still only a mixed text.³ It may be that both writers have been misled by failing to observe the abrupt change which, as has been pointed out, takes place in the latter part of the sixteenth chapter.

I have not thought it necessary to reproduce the text line for line from the manuscript, and for convenience of reference the numbers of chapters and verses have been added throughout. In expanding contractions I have printed the letters which had to be supplied in italics.

* * * * *

XVI. | homines dicunt esse filium hominis ¹⁴ At illi dix[erunt io]- [f. 5 r. hannem babtizam Alii hautem heliam alii uero heremiam aut unum ex profetis ¹⁵ dixit illis ih̄s Uos hautem quem me esse dicitis ¹⁶ R[e- spondiens] simon petrus dixit tu es xps filius dei uiui ¹⁷ Respondiens hautem ih̄s dixit ei beatus es simon bar iona quia caro et sangis non reuelauitibi sed pater meus qui in caelis est ¹⁸ Ideo dico tibi tu es petrus et super hanc petram ædificabo æclisiæ meam et porte inferni non præualeabunt aduersus eum ¹⁹ et tibi dabo claves regni caelorum Et quicumque ligaueritis super terram erunt ligata et in caelis et quicumque solueritis super terram erunt soluta et in caelis ²⁰ Tunc

¹ Above, p. 67.

² *Op. cit.*, p. xv.

³ *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 42; *Revue Celtique*, vi. p. 355.
xvi. 17. After ih̄s there seems to be a cross.

imperauit discipulis suis nemini dicirent *quia ipse esset xp̄s*²¹ EX[in]-
de coepit ih̄s ostendere discipulis suis *quod o[po]rtet eum ire in*
hirusalem et multa pati asenioribus et principibus sacerdotum et
*occidi et post tertium diem resurgam*²² Et adsumiens eum petrus
coepit increpare et dicire absit atē domine nonerit istud²³ Et ipse
coepit dicire *conuersus ait Uade post me satanas scandalum es mihi*
*non enim sapis quae dei sunt sed quae hominum*²⁴ Tunc ih̄s dixit dis-
cipulis suis Si quis uult post me uenire abnegat se ipsum sibi et tollat
crucem suam et sequatur me²⁵ Qui enim uoluerit animam suam saluam
facere perdet eam Qui enim perdiderit animam suam propter me
inueniet eam²⁶ Et quod enim proderit homini si lucretur hunc mun-
d[um] animae uero suae detrimentum patitur Aut quantum [f. 5 v.
dauit homo coniunctionem propter animam suam²⁷ nam filius hominis
uenturus in maiestate fratris sui cum angelis suis Et tunc reddet
unicuique secundum opera sua²⁸ Amen dico uobis quoniam sunt
aliqui destantibus istis qui non gustabunt mortem donec uidiant

XVII. filium hominis uenientem in regno suo¹ Et factum est post dies sex
Adsumpsit ih̄m petrum et iacobum et iohannem frater eius et duxit
illos in montem excelsum scorsum² et splendiuit facies eius sicut sol
et uestimenta hautem eius factasunt sicut nix³ Et ecce aperuit eis
moyses et helias cum eo loquentes⁴ respondens petrus dixit ad ih̄m
domine bonum est nobis hic esse si uis faciamus hic trea tabernacula
tibi unum et moysi unum Et heliae unum⁵ adhuc eo loquente Et ecce
nups abscondita obumbravit eis Et ecce uox denube diciens hic est
filius meus dilectus in quo mihi bene complacui Audite ipsum⁶ Et
audientes caeciderunt in faciem suam et timuiarunt ualde⁷ Et ac-
cediens eos tetigit eos et dixit surgitate et nolite timere⁸ eleuantes
hautem oculos suos Neminem uiderunt nisi ih̄m solum⁹ Et discen-
ditibus illis de monte praecipit eis ih̄s nemini dixeritis uisum donec
filius hominis amortuis resurgat¹⁰ Et inter rogauerunt eum discipuli
dicentes quid ergo scribe dicunt quod heliam oportet primum uenire
¹¹ ipse respondit ait helias quidem uenturus est restitu[et] uere [f. 6 r.
omnia¹² dico hautem uobis quod helias iam uenit Et non cog-
nouerunt eum et fecerunt ei quanta uoluerunt¹³ tunc intellexerunt
discipuli quod de iohanne baptista dixit illis sic et filius hominis ne-
cessere habet pati ab eis¹⁴ Et cum uenisset ad turbam accessit adeum
homo genibus prouolutis¹⁵ diciens domine misserere filio meo quia
lunaticus est et malae torquetur nam sepius in ignem cadit et aliquando
in aquam¹⁶ Et obtulli eum discipulis suis et non potuerunt curare eum
¹⁷ Respondens ih̄s dixit O' generatio incredula et peruersa quo usque
patiar uos adferte illum amie¹⁸ Et increpauit illum ih̄s Et exiit ab eo
demonium et curatus est puer exilla hora¹⁹ Tunc accesserunt discipuli
ad ih̄m secreato Et dixerunt ei quare nos non potuimus ieccere eum
²⁰ dixit illis ih̄s propter incredulitatem uestram Amen dico uobis si
habueritis fidem sicut granum sinapis et dicitis monti huic transi-
hinc transibit et nihil impossibile erit uobis²¹ hoc hautem genus non
iecitur nisi per orationem et iejunium²² Ipsis hautem conuersantibus

in galiliam *Dixit illi ih̄s futurum est enim ut filium hominis tradetur in manus hominum*²³ Et occident eum Et post tertium diem resurgere et contristatisunt uechimenter²⁴ Et cum uenisset ih̄s incapharnaum ac cessiarunt quide dragma | accessiarunt exigebant ad petrum [f. 6 v. et dixerunt magister uester nonsoluet dedragma²⁵ ait utique et intrauit indomum peruenit eum ih̄s diciens quid tibi uidetur simon regesterre accibus accipiunt tributum uel censum afilis suis áñ abalienis²⁶ at ille dixit abalienis *Dixit illi ih̄s ergo liberi sunt*²⁷ ut hautem scandalizemus eos uade admare Et mitte amum in mari Et cum piscom qui primus ascenderit tolle et^aperto ore eius

XVIII. *inuenies ibistateram illam sumiens da eis prome et té*¹ IN illa die accesserunt discipuli adihm dicentes quis putas maior est in regno caelorum² Et ih̄s uocauit puerum Et statuit eum in medio eorum³ Et dixit amen dico uobis nisi conuersi fueritis et eficiamini sicut infantem non intrabitis in regnum caelorum⁴ Et qui cumque humiliauerit se sicut puer iste hic maior est in regnum caelorum⁵ Et qui acciperit infantem talem innomine meo me accipit⁶ Qui h scandalizauerit unum depussillis istis qui in me credunt expedit ei ut mola assinaria in collo eius suspendatur Et demergatur in profundum maris⁷ uae huic mundo ascandalis necesse est enim uenire scanda Uerum tamen dico uobis Uae homini per quem scandalum uenit⁸ quod si manus tua uel pes tuus scandalizate abscede eam Et proiecce abste | bonum est tibi inuitam uenire [f. 7 r. debilem et clodium quam duos pedes uel duas manus habentem mitti in ignem aeternum⁹ Sí oculus tuus "erue eum scandalizat te et proiecce absste Bonum est tibi unum oculum habentem inuitam uenire quam duos oculos habentem mitti in gechenam ignis¹⁰ Uidete necontemnatis unum ex his pussillis istis qui in me credunt Dico enim uobis quoniam angeli eorum in caelis uident faciem patris mei qui in caelis est¹¹ Uenit filius hominis saluare quod perierat¹² quid uobis uidetur Sí fuerint alicui oves Et sí errauerit una ex eis nonne relinquet nonagenta noem in montibus et uadet querere eam¹³ Amen dico uobis quod gaudebit in eam magis quam nonaginta noem quae non periant quid uobis uidetur¹⁴ Sic non est uoluntas ante patrem meum qui in caelis est ut periat unus ex pussillis istis¹⁵ Quod sí peccauerit inte frater tuus uade corripe eum inte et ipsum solum quod si audierit te lucratus es fratrem tuum¹⁶ si hautem nonté audierit adibe tecum adhuc unum uel duos ut inore duorum testium uel trium stet omne uerbum¹⁷ Quod si non audierit eos defer æclisię Sí uero nec aeclisię audierit sit tibi sicut ethinus et puplicanus¹⁸ Amen dico uobis] quicumque alligaueritis super terram erunt ligata et in caelis Et quicumque solueritis super terram soluta et [f. 7 v. in caelo¹⁹ Iterum dico uobis quasi duobus conuenerit inter uos de omni ré quæcumque petieritis fiet uobis apatre meo qui in caelis est²⁰ Ubi sunt duo uel tres congregata innomine meo ego in medio

xviii. 13. In the right margin, opposite "magis," is written "ei[.]it" (= "erit").

eorum²¹ Tunc accedens adeum petrus dicens ei domine si peccauerit in me frater meus quotiens demittam ei usque septies²² Dicit illi ih̄s non dico tibi usque septies sed usque septuagies et septies²³ Ideo dico uobis simile est regnum caelorum homini regi qui uolunt rationem ponere cum seruis suis²⁴ et cum coepisset rationem ponere oblatus est ei unus qui debebat x. tallenta²⁵ cum non haberet unde redaret iusit eum dominus uenundari et uxorem et filios eius Et omnia quae cumque habebat et reddi debitum²⁶ Procedens ergo seruus ille orabat eum diciens patientiam habe in me domine Et omnia reddam²⁷ Missentus est hautem dominus serui illius dimisit eum et debitum dimisit ei²⁸ Egressus hautem seruus ille inuenit unum ex conseruis suis qui debebat eum .c. denarios Et adpræchendiens et suffucabat eum diciens redde mihi quod debo tibi²⁹ Procedens conseruus eius rogabat eum diciens patientiam habe in me reddam tib[i]³⁰ Ille hautem noluit sed habuit et missit eum in carcerem donec redderet debitum³¹ Uidentes conserui

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- XIX. I possiulia sunt²⁷ Tunc respondiens petrus dixit ei quid ergo erit [f. 9 r. nobis ecce nos relincimus omnia et secuti sumus te²⁸] ih̄s hautem dixit eis Amen dico uobis quod uos qui saecuti estis me ingeneratione ista Cum sederit filius hominis in maiestate sua sedebitis et uos super xii tribus israhel²⁹ Et omnis qui relinquerit domum uel fratres aut sorores aut matrem aut filios aut agros propter nomen meum centuplum accipiet in saeculo isto Et uitam aeternam infuturo³⁰ Multi hautem erunt
- XX. primi nouissimi et nouissim[i] primi¹ Simile est enim regnum caelorum hom[ini pa]tri familias qui exiit primo mane conducere operarios in messem suam² conuentione hautem facta cum operarios ex dinario diurno missit inuiniam suam³ Et egressus [diu]rno Et egressus circa horam tertiam et inuenit alias stantes in foro otiosos⁴ et [illi]s dixit ite et uos inuiniam meam et quod iustum fuerit dabo uobis⁵ Ali hautem abierunt iterum [hautem exi]it circa horam nonam et fecit similiter⁶ circa undecimam horam Exiit hautem et inuenit alias stantes Et dixit illis quid hic statis otiosos tota die⁷ dicunt ei quia nemo nos conduxit ait illis ite ad uniam me[a]m⁸ Cum sero hautem fatum esset dicit dominus uinie procuratori suo uoca operarios et redde illis mercidem [f. 9 v.] Incipiens annouissimis usque ad primos⁹ Cum uenissent hautem qui circa undecimam horam uenerunt acciperunt singulos denarios¹⁰ Uenientes hautem et primi arbitrii sunt quod plus essent accepturi accipiarunt et ipsi singulos denarios¹¹ accipientes murmurauerunt aduersus patrem familias¹² hui nouissimi una hora fecerunt et patres illos nobis fecisti qui portauimus pondus diei et estus¹³ At ille respondiens uni eorum dixit amice non facio tibi iniuriam nonne ex dinario conuersisti mecum¹⁴ tolle quod tuum est et uade uolo hautem huic nouissimo huic dare.

xviii. 31. There is a hiatus here owing to the loss of one leaf (xviii. 31-xix. 26). There is also a misplacement of the remaining leaves, that containing xxi. 11 sqq. being made by the binder to follow the present verse.

xix. 28. We should perhaps read "sederet."

sicut et tibi ¹⁵ non licet mihi facere quod uolo in eis aut oculus tuus nequam est quia ego bonus sum ¹⁶ Sic erunt nouissimi primi et primi nouissimi multi enim sunt uocati pauci uero electi ¹⁷ Et ascendiens ih̄s in hirusolimis adsumpsit duodecim discipulos suos Et ait illis ¹⁸ ecce ascendimus hirusolimam et filius hominis tradetur principibus sacerdotum et scribis et contempnabunt eum morte ¹⁹ et tradent eum gentibus ad deludendum et ad flagillandum et crucifigendum Et tertio die resurget ²⁰ Tunc ait ad eum mater filiorum sebedei cum duobus filiis adorans et petrus aliquid ab eo ²¹ ipse hautem dixit ei quid uis at illa dixit ei ut sedent hii duo filii mei unus ad [f. 10 r.] dexteram tuam et alias ad sinistram inregno tuo ²² respondiens hautem ih̄s dixit nestis quid petatis potestis bibere calicem quem ego bibiturus sum Et dicunt ei possumus ²³ calicem quidem bibetis sedere hautem addexteram uel adsinistram nonest meum dare uobis sed quibus datum est apatre meo ²⁴ Et audientes .x. contrastati sunt ad du[ō]bus fratribus ²⁵ ih̄s uocauit eos ad se ait illis s[ci]tis quia principes gentium dominantur eorum [et] qui dominantur eorum Et qui dominantur [eorum] potestates exercent in eis ²⁶ non ita est interuos s[ed quicumque] ²⁷ inter uos primus esse erit uester seruus ²⁸ Sicut [fi]lius hominis non uenit ministrari sed mini[st]rare et dare animam suam redemptionem pro multis Uos hautem queritis depussillo crescere Et demaiorem esse minoris intrantes hautem et rogati ad cenam nolite recumbere in locis maioribus neforte clarior super ueniat et a[c]cediens quite ad cenam uocauit dicat tib[i] adhuc accede Et confunderis si hautem in loco inferiore recumberi Et super uenerit humil[i]ore te dicet tibi qui te ad cenam uocauit accede ad huc superius et erit hoc tibi gloria ²⁹ Et egredientibus illis ad hericho saecutae sunt eum turbae multae ³⁰ Et ecce duo caeci sedentes super uiuam audientes quod ih̄s transiit Et clamauerunt dientes misserere nostri filii dauid [f. 10 v.]

³¹ Turba hautem increpabat eos ut tacerat illi magis clamabant domine misserere nostri filii dauid ³² Et uocauit eos et ait illis quid uultis utfaciam uobis ³³ dicunt illi ut aperientur oculi nostri ³⁴ missertus hautem illis ih̄s tetigit oculos eorum et confessim uidiarunt et secutae sunt eum

XXI. ¹Et adpropinquassent hirusolimam Et cum uenissent bethfage in montem oliueti tunc missit duos exdiscipulis suis ² dicienes ite [a]d castellum quod contra uosest et confessim inuenietis [a]sinam alligatam et pullum cum ea soluite et addu[c]ite mihi ³ Et si quis uobis aliquid dixerit dominus [o]pus habet et confessim remittent uos ⁴ hoc hautem factum est ut inpleretur quod dictum est per essaiam profeatam dicentem ⁵ dicte filiae sion Ecce rex tuus uenit tibi mansuetus et sediens super assinam et pullum nouellum sub iugale ⁶ Eentes hautem discipuli fecerunt sicut praecepit illis ih̄s ⁷ et adduxerunt assinam et

xx. 25. We should perhaps read "eōs" for "eis."

xx. 26. The word "inter" (v. 27) begins a fresh line. The vellum is cut above the final "s" of the previous line. It may have had a horizontal stroke over it. Three or four letters are gone. Hence I restore the reading "s q ē q :" = "sed quicumque." What seems to be a portion of the first q remains.

xx. 28. A slight space follows "superius," in which possibly something is written.

pullum Et in possuerunt super eum uestimenta etsedebat [s]uper eum
⁸ Plurimi hautem strauerunt uestimenta sua in uia Alii hautem cedebant
 ramos dearboribus et sterniebant inuia ⁹ turbae hautem quae procede-
 bant et qui sedebant clamabant dicentes ossanna filii dauid Benedictus
 qui uenit in nomine domini ossanna in excelsis ¹⁰ Et cum intrasset hirus-
 limam commota est uniuersa ciuitas dicentes quis est hic | ¹¹ multi [f. 8 r.
 hautem dixerunt hic est ih̄s anazareth galiliae ¹² [et intrauit] ih̄s in
 templum dei et ieccit ih̄s omnes uenden[tes et e]mentes intemps et
 mensas numulariorum E[t cath]edras uendentium columbas euertit
¹³ et dixit s[crib]atum est domus mea domus orationis uocauitur [uos]
 hautem fecistis eam speloncam latronum ¹⁴ Et acce[dunt] adeum caeci
 et claudi intemps et sanabat eos ¹⁵ [ui]diens hautem princeps sacer-
 dotum et scribe mirab[ilia] quae fecit ih̄s Et pueros clamantes et
 dicentes [ossan]na filii dauid indignati sunt ¹⁶ et dixerunt ei audisti[i
 quid] isti dicunt ih̄s hautem dixit illis utique non legisti EXore in-
 fa[n]tium et lactantium perfecisti laudem ¹⁷ Et relictis illis ab[iit] foras
 extracuitatem inbethania ibique mans[it ¹⁸ ma]ne hautem transiit
 inciuitatem essuriit ¹⁹ Et uidien[s arbo]rem feci unam secus feci unam
 uenit adeam E[t] n[ihil] inuenit ineam nisi folia tantum ait adeam
 [Nu]mquam e[xte] fructus nasceretur in sempeternum et aruit conti-
 nuo] ficalnia ²⁰ Et uidentes discipuli mirati sunt quomodo [cont]nuo
 aruit ²¹ respondiens hautem ih̄s dixit eis Amen dico uobis [si ha-]
 bueritis fidem et non essitaueritis non solum difi[cu]lia facietis sed
 mundi huic dixeritis tolle et iact[a te in] mare faciet ²² omnia
 quaecumque petieritis inorat[ione] credentes accipietis ²³ et cum ueniset
 intemp[lum] Accessiarunt adeum principes sacerdotum [et seni]oris
 populi dicentis inqua potes[tate haec] facis Et quis tibi dedit haec
 potestatem ²⁴ R[espondiens ih̄s] dixit [illis] interrogabo uós [f. 8 v.
 et ego unum uerbum dicite m[ih]i Et ego uobis dicam inqua
 potestate haec faci ²⁵ baptismum iohannis unde uenit deaelo
 an ex [h]ominibus illi hautem cogitabant intrasé dicentes ²⁶ si
 [di]xerimus deaelo dicet nobis quare ergo non credidistis [ill]i Si
 dixerimus ex hominibus timemus turbam omnes [enim] habebat
 iohannem sicut profeatam ²⁷ respondentes ad ih̄m dixerunt nescimus
 Ait illis ih̄s nec ego uobis dico in qua [p]otestate haec facio ²⁸ quid
 uobis uidetur homo quidam [h]abebat duos filios et accediens ad
 primum [dixit] filii uade hodie operari inuiniam meam ²⁹ ille hautem
 dixit [eo] domine et non habit Accessit hautem ad alium dixit simi-
 [liter] ²⁹ ille hautem respondit nolo et postea penetentia ductus Abiit
 in uiniam ³¹ quis ergo ex duabus fecit uoluntatem patris dicunt nouis-
 simus dicit illis ih̄s Amen dico uobis quia puplicani et meritrices prae-
 [ce]dunt uos in regnum dei ³² Uenit enim iohannis ad [u]os inuia
 iustitiae et non credidistis ei puplicani hautem et meritrices
 credidiarunt ei Uos hautem uidentes nec poenetentiam egistis quod

xxi. 11. The page beginning with this verse is out of its place. See note to
 xviii. 31.

xxi. 12. For "E[t cath]edras" we should perhaps read "C[ath]edras."

credidistis ei postea ³³Aliam parabulam audite homo erat pater famili-[as] et plantauit uinias Et sepem circum deditum [et] fodit in eam torcular et edificauit turrem locauit ean colonis et peregre profectus est ³⁴ Cum hautem ad[pro]p[in]casset fructum tempus missit seruos suo[s] ad [c]olonos ut acceperent defructibus suis ³⁵ E[t] | coloni [f. 11 r.] adpraechensis seruis unum coeder[unt a]lium lapidauerunt alium uero occiderunt ³⁶ iterum missit alios seruos plures prioribus fecerunt illis similiter ³⁷ nouissime hautem missit illis filium suu[m] unicum diciens uerebuntur filium meum ³⁸ Coloni [hautem] uidentes filium dixerunt intrase hic est heres uen[ite] occidamus eum Et habemus hereditatem eius ³⁹ et adpraechensum eum occiderunt et deiecerunt extra uiniām ⁴⁰ Cum ergo uenerit dominus uiniae quid faciet coloni[s il]lis ⁴¹ Et dixerunt illi malos malae perdet et ueni[am] locauit aliis colonis qui reddant ei fructus t[em]poribus suis ⁴² dicit illis ih̄s numquam legistis inscript[u]ris Lapidem quem reprobauerunt ædificantes hic factus est in capud anguli adomino factus e[st] istud hoc est mirabile inoculis nostris ⁴³ ideo dico uobis quia auferetur a uobis regnum dei Et dabitur genti facienti fructum eius ⁴⁵ Et cum audissent pri[n]cipes sacerdotum et farissei fabulas cognouer[unt] quod deipsis diceret ⁴⁶ et querentes eum tenere inuenierunt turbas

XXII. quoniam sicut profeata eum habeaban[t ¹] Et respondiens ih̄s dixit illis inparabulam diciens ² Simile [est] regnum caelorum homini regi qui nuptias filio suo ³ Et missit seruos suos uocare ad nuptias et noluerunt uenire ⁴ Et iterum missit alios seruos diciens inuitatis Ecce prandium meum paraui tauri mei et saginata occissa Et | omnia [f. 11 v.] paratasunt uenite adnuptias ⁵ illi hautem [n]eglexiarunt et abiarunt alii in uillas suas alii uero ad negotionem suam ⁶ caeteri hautem adpraechensus illius contumilia afflictos occiderunt ⁷ rex hautem audisset et iratus est Et missit exercitum suum Et disperdit homicidas illos et ciuitates eorum succendit ⁸ tunc dixit seruis suis nuptiae quidem parate sunt sed qui uocatisunt nonfuiarunt digni ⁹ ITe ergo ad exitum uiarum Et quos cumque inuenieritis uocate adnuptias ¹⁰ et egressi serui illius inuias Et congregauerunt quot quot inueniarunt bonos et malos Et inpletesunt nuptiae discumbentibus ¹¹ intrauit autem rex ut uideret discumbentes Et uidit ibi hominem ^{non} uestimentum ueste nuptiale ¹² et ait illi ammice quomodo huc uenisti non habiens uestem nuptiale At ille obmutuit ¹³ tunc rex missit ministros tollete eum manibus et pedibus Et mitere eum in tenebras exteriores ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium ¹⁴ Multi hautem uocati pauci uero electi ¹⁵ Tunc abiarunt farissei consilium fecerunt ut caperent eum inuerbo ¹⁶ et misserunt discipulos suos cum herodianis dicentes magister quia uera non est tibi cura dealiquo ^{non enim} respicis in personas hominum ¹⁷ quid uidetur tibi si licet censum cessari a non ¹⁸ cognoscens hautem ih̄s nequicias eorum dixit Numquid me temptatis chyphochrite ¹⁹ Ostendite mihi nouissime censum At illi optulle | runt ei [f. 12 r.] denarium ²⁰ ait illis ih̄s cuius est imago h[ae]c et conscriptio

²¹ dicunt ei cessaris Tunc dicit illis ih̄s reddite ergo quae sunt cessaris cessari et quae sunt dei deo ²² Hiis audit̄is mirati sunt et relichto eo recesserunt ²³ IN illa die accesserunt ad eum saducei qui dicunt non esse resurrectionem Et interrogauerunt eum ²⁴ dicentes magister moyses dixit si quis mortuus illius fuerit non habiens filium adducat fratrem uxorem illius et suscitet semen fratri suo ²⁵ Erant enim apud nos ui fratres Et primus uxorem duxit et mortuus est non habiens semen reliquit uxorem suam fratri suo ²⁶ similiter et secundus et tertius usque ad septimum ²⁷ nouissime hautem omnium et mulier defuncta est ²⁸ IN resurrectione ergo cuius erit de ui uxori omnes enim habuerunt eam ²⁹ Respondiens ih̄s dixit errantes nescientes scripturas neque uirtutem dei ³⁰ IN resurrectione ergo mortuorum Neque nubunt Neque nubuntur sed erunt sicut angeli dei in caelo ³¹ Derasurrectione ergo non legistis quomodo dictum est uobis ad domino dicente ³² Ego sum deus abraham deus issac deus iacob non est deus mortuor sed uiuentium ³³ Et cum audisset turbae mirabantur indoctrinam eius ³⁴ farissei hautem audientes quod silentium in possuit saduceis congregatis sunt aduersus eum ³⁵ Interrogauit eum unus ex eis legis doctor temptans eum Et diciens ³⁶ magister [f. 12 v.] quod mandatum maximum in lege. ³⁷ Et [a]git illi ih̄s dilegis dominum deum tuum ex toto corde tuo Et in tota anima tua et in tota mentatu ³⁸ hoc est mag[num] et primum mandatum ³⁹ secundum uero simile huic dileges proximum tuum tamquam te ipsum ⁴⁰

IN hiis duobus mandatis tota lex pendet et profete ⁴¹ Congregatis hautem farisseis interrogauit eos ih̄s ⁴² diciens quid uobis uidetur de operibus fidelis est dicent ei dauid ⁴³ Ait illis ih̄s quomodo ergo dauid dicit uocat eum dominum diciens ⁴⁴ Dixit dominus domino meo sede ad extris meis donec ponam inimicostuos scabellum pedum tuorum ⁴⁵ Si ergo dauid inspiritu uocat eum dominum quomodo filius eius est ⁴⁶ Et nemo poterat respondere illi uerbum

XIII. Nec auus est quisquam ex illa die quod eum amplius interrogare ¹ Tunc locutus est turbis et discipulis suis ² diciens super cathedram moysi sediarunt scribe et farissei ³ Omnia ergo quaecumque dixerunt uobis facite et seruatae secundum uero facta eorum nolite facere dicunt enim et ipsi non faciunt ⁴ Alligant enim honorograuia et importabilia et inponunt super humeros hominum digito suo noluit ea moueri ⁵ Omni uero sua opera faciunt ut uidiantur abominibus dilatant enim filacteria sua et magnificant fymbrias ⁶ Amant hautem primos discubitos in conuiuis et primas cathedras in sinagogis ⁷ et salutationes [f. 13 r.] in foro et uocari ab hominibus rabbi ⁸ Uos uero ne uocemini ab hominibus rabbi unus est enim magister uester xps Nam uos omnes fratres estis ⁹ Et patrem nolite uocare uobis super terram unus est enim pater uester qui in caelis est ¹⁰ Nec uocemini magistri quoniam magister uester xps est ¹¹ qui uult maior in uobis esse erit uester minister ¹² Et

xxii. 24. The word "et" is doubtful.

xxii. 40. There is a space before "IN" in which a word (? Et) may perhaps be written.

quicumque enim exaltauerit sé humiliabitur et qui se humiliat exaltabitur ¹³ Uae hautem uobis scribe et farissei chipochrite qui cluditis regnum caelorum ante homines Uos enim nonintroitis Nec introiuntes sinitis introire ¹⁴ Ue uobis scribe et farissei chipochrite qui comeditis domum uidbarum occasione longa orantes propter hoc accipietis amplius iudicium ¹⁵ Uae uobis scribe et farissei chypocrite quia circumitis mare et aridam ut faciatis unum prosilitum Et cum factus fuerit faciatis eum filum gehene duplo quam uos ¹⁶ Uae uobis duces ceci qui dicitis qui cumque iurauerat intemplum nihil est qui hautem iurauerit inaurum templi debitor est ¹⁷ stulti et cæci quid enim [mai]us est aurum an templum quod sanctificat aur[um ¹⁸ et q]uicumque iurauerit inaltare nihil est Se[d qu]icunque iurauerat ineo quod est super illud debitor est ¹⁹ quid enim enim maius est donum uel altare quod sanctificat do|num ²⁰ Qui [eni]m iurauerat per altare iurat per eum et [f. 13 v. per omnia quae super illud sunt ²¹ Et qui [iu]rauerat pertemplum iurat in illo et in [eo] qui habitat in ipso ²² Et qui iurat per cae[lum] iurat per thronum dei et per eum qui sedit in ipso ²³ Uae uobis scribe et farissei chypochrite qui decimatis mentam et anniatam Et cyminum et reliquistis quae grauiora sunt legis iudicium et missericordiam et fidem pacem hautem oportuerat facere et illa non omitere ²⁴ duces cæci excolentes calicem camellum hautem glutientis ²⁵ Uae uobis scribae et farissei chipochrite qui mundatis quod deforis est calicis et parapsidis intus hautem pleni rapina et iniquitate ²⁶ farissae cæce munda primum quod intus est calicis ut fiat id quod deforis est mundum ²⁷ Uae uobis scribe et farisse quoniam simile estis dealbatis monumentis quae aforis apparent hominibus speciosa intus uero pleana sunt os[sibus] mortuorum Et omnes pl[ur]citia ²⁸ sic et] uos quidem aforis par[etis hominibus] iusti intus hautem pleni estis fi[cta simulatione] et iniquitate ²⁹ Ue uobis s[cribae et far]issei chypocrite qui edificatis [sepul]chra profetarum et ornatis monumenta [i]ustorum ³⁰ et dicitis quia sí fuissemus in diebus patrum nostrorum [f. 14 r. non [es]simus socii eorum insangine profetarum ³¹ ita[que] testimonium peribetis uobis quia filii estis eorum qui occiderunt profeatas ³² Et uos adinplete mensuram patrum uestrorum. ³³ serpentes [ge]neratio uiperarum quomodo effugietis aiudicio g[e]ne ³⁴ Ideo ecce ego mitto aduos profeatas Et sa[pi]entes et scribas et exillis occidetis Et crucifig[et]is et flagillabitis insinagogis et persequemini deciuitatem ³⁵ Ideo uenit super uos omnis iustus sanguis qui effussus est super terram asan[g]uine abiel iusti usque adsanginem sacharie filii barachi[ae que]m occidistis intertemplum et altare ³⁶ Amen [dico uo]b[is] uenient haec omnia super generation[em istam] ³⁷ hirusalem hirusalem quae occidis profeatas] Et lapidas eos qui adte missi sunt quotiens uolui congregare filios tuos sicut gallina congregat pullos suos sub alas suas Et

xxiii. 20. The reading "[eni]m" is perhaps doubtful.

xxiii. 28. The words "fi[cta simulatione]" are supported by *h*, and suit the space.

noluisti³⁸ Ecce relinquetur uobis domus uestra deserta³⁹ Dico hautem uobis quoniam non uidebitis me amodo donec dicatis benedictus qui

XXIV. uenit in nomine domini¹ Et ressus ih̄s detempro et ibat et accessiarunt adeum discipuli eius ut ostenderunt ei fructuram templi² Ipse hautem respondiens dixit uidetis haec omnia Amen dico uobis non [re-]
linetur hic lapis super lapidem qui nondistru[atur]³ Sedente hautem illo in monte oliuetai accesserunt a[d eum] | discipuli [f. 14 v.
eius] insaerato dicentes dīc nobis quando erunt quod signum uentus tui et consummationem seculi⁴ quibus respon[diens]. dixit uidete ne quis uos seducat⁵ Multi enim uenient in nomine meo dicentes ego sum xps et multos seducent⁶ Audistis enim pugnas et opiniones bellorum sed turbemini Oportet enim hoc fieri sed nondum est finis⁷ exurget enim gens contragentem et regnum contra regnum et erunt fames et terre motus per loca⁸ Omnia haec sunt initia dolorum⁹ Tunt tradent uos in tribulatione et occident uos et eritis hodibiles gentibus propter nomen meum¹⁰ Et tunc scandalizabunt multi Et inuicem se tradent et occident se inuicem¹¹ Et multi seodo profete exurgent Et multos seducent¹² quia habundauit iniquitas et re[fri]gerescet caritas multorum¹³ qui hautem perseuerauerit usque in finem hic saluus erit¹⁴ Et praedicabitur hoc euangelium regni per totum orbem intestimonium omnibus gentibus Et tunc uenient finis¹⁵ Cum ergo uideritis abominationem desolutionis quod dictum est per danielum profetum stantem in loco sancto qui legit intellegat¹⁶ Tunc qui in iudia sunt fugiant in montibus¹⁷ Et qui intecto sunt non descendant tollere aliquid dedomo¹⁸ Et qui in agro sunt non uertatur tollere tonicas suas¹⁹ Uae hautem prigrantibus et nutrientibus in illis diebus²⁰ Orate hautem ut non fiat fuga uestra cheme uel sabbato²¹ erit enim tribulatio magna qualis non fuit ab initio saeculi usque modo sed neque fiet²² et nisi breuiati fuissent [f. 17 r.
dies illi nonsaluasset omnis car[o sed] propter electos brebiabantur dies illi²³ Tunc si qui[s uo]bis dixerit Ecce hic ecce illi nolite credere²⁴ su]rgent enim seodo xpi et seodo profete Et dabunt signa magna et prodigia ita ut in errorem inducantur si fier[i] potest etiam electi²⁵ ecce praedixi uobis²⁶ si enim dixerint uobis ecce in deserto est nolite credere²⁷ sicut enim fulgor exiit ab oriente et appareat usque in occidentem ita erit aduentus filii hominis²⁸ Ubi fuerit corpus illi congregabuntur aquile²⁹ Statim hautem post tribulationem dierum illorum sol obscurabuntur et luna non dauit lumen suum Et stelle cadent de caelo Et uir[t]utes caelorum commouebuntur³⁰ Et tunc apparebit signum filii hominis in caelo et lamentabunt se om[nes] tribus terre et uidebunt filium hominis uenient[em] in nubibus caeli cum uirtute multa et maiesta[te]³¹ Et mittet angelos suos cum uoce magna Et con[gre]gabunt electos suos aquatuor angulis uent[orum] assummis caelorum usque ad terminos eorum Cum co[e-

xxiv. 6. For "hoc" we should perhaps read "haec."

xxiv. 22. Fo. 17 has been misplaced by binder, and now follows that containing xxv. 34-xxvi. 18.

xxiv. 26. "enim" should perhaps be read "hautem."

[perint] hautem haec fieri respicite et leuate capud quoniam adpro[piat] redemtio uestra ³² Ab arbore hautem fici discite [para]bulam cum iam ramus eius tener fuerit Et folia nata [fu]erint cognoscitis prope esse aestatem ³³ sic et uobis cu[m] uideritis haec omnia scitote quoniam prope est ianuís ³⁴ A[m]en dico uobis quoniam non praeteribit generatio haec donec fiant [omnia] ³⁵ caelum et terram transibunt Uerba hautem mea non praeterib[us]nt | ³⁶ de die hautem [f. 17 v.] illa uel hora nemo scit nisi pater solus ³⁷ Sicut enim indiebus noe. ita erit aduentus filii hominis ³⁸ Sicut enim erat in diebus illis ante diluium manducabant et bibeant et nubebant uxores ducebant usque indiem quo intrauit noe inarcam ³⁹ Et non senserunt donec uenit diluium et nullit omnes ita erit aduentus filii hominis ⁴⁰ Tunc erunt duo inagro unus adsummetur et aliis relinquetur ⁴¹ due molentes ad molam una adsummetur et alter relinquetur ⁴² Uigilate ergo quia nescitis qua die uel hora dominus uester uenturus est ⁴³ illud hautem scitote quoniam si sciret pater familias qua hora fir ueniet uigilaret utique et non consentiret per foderi domum suam ⁴⁴ Ideo et uos estote parati quia nescitis qua hora filius hominis uenturus est ⁴⁵ Quis nam est fidelis seruus et quem constituit dominus super familiam suam ut det illi cybum intempsore ⁴⁶ Beatus seruus ille quem ueniens dominus eius est inuenierit sic facientem ⁴⁷ Amen dico uobis quoniam su[pr]a omnia bona sua constituunt eum ⁴⁸ Si hautem malus il[le s] eruus dixerit in cordesuo moram facit dominus [me]us uenire ad me ⁴⁹ Et incipiet conseruos suos percutere manducet hautem et bibet cum ebriosis ⁵⁰ Cum hautem ueniet dominus serui illius in die qua nonsperat et oraqua ignorat ⁵¹ et diuidet eum partem que eius ponet cum hypocritis Ibi erit fletus et

XXV. stridor dentium ¹ Tunc simulabitur regnum caelorum .x. uirginibus quae acciperunt lampadas suas et prodiarunt obiam sponsi [f. 15 r.] et spose. ² .u. hautem ex eis erant fatuae et .u. sapientes ³ fatuae hautem acceptis lampadibus suis non sumpserunt oleum secum ⁴ sapientes hautem sumpserunt oleum secum in uassis cum lampadibus suis ⁵ moram hautem sponsus faciente domierunt ⁶ media hautem nocte clamor factus Ecce sponsus uenit exite obiam ei ⁷ tunc surrexerunt omnes ille uirgines accepert lam padas suas ⁸ FAtuae hautem sapientibus dixerunt date nobis deoleo uestro quia lampades nostre extinguntur ⁹ Responderunt prudentes dixerunt nonne forte non sufficiat nobis et uobis ite putius ad oues qui uendunt emite uobis oleum ¹⁰ euntes emere oleum uenit sponsus Et quae parate erant intrauerunt cum eo adnuptias et clausa est ianua ¹¹ postea ueniarunt relique uirgines dicentes domine domine aperi nobis ¹² At ille respondiens dicit Amen dico uobis. quia nescio uos ¹³ uigilate itaque quia nesciatis diem neque horam ¹⁴ sicut enim homo peregre proficiens uocauit seruos suos Et tradidit illis Substantiam suam ¹⁵ Et uni quidem dedit .u. tallenta Alii hautem duo. Alii uero unum unicuique secundum propriam uirtutem Et profectus est continuo ¹⁶ hautem ab hiis .u. tallenta accepert et operatus est ineis Et lucratus

*est alia u. ¹⁷ similit et qui duo tallenta acciperat lucratu*s* est alia duo ¹⁸ Qui hautem unum acciperit fudit interram et abscondit peccuniam domini sui ¹⁹ Pumultum | tempus uenit dominus [f. 15 v. seruorum illorum Et cum possuit rationem eis ²⁰ accessit qui u. tallenta acciperat Et obtullit alia u. diciens domine u. tallenta mihi tradidisti ecce alia u. lucratu*s* sum ²¹ ait illi dominus eius euge serue bone et fidelis quia super pauca fidelis fuisti super multate constituam intra ingaudium tuum et domini tui ²⁴ Accedens hautem qui unum tallentum acciperat ait illi domine scebam quia homo durus esmetis ubi non seminasti ²⁵ Timui ergo et abii Et abscondi tallentum tuum interra ecce habes quod tuum est ²⁶ et respondiens hautem dominus eius dixit ei serue nequam et piger scebas quia meto ubi nonsemino et colligo ubi nonsparsi ²⁷ Oportuit ergo uenundari peccuniam meam numularis Et ego ueniens recipissem cum ussuris quod meum est ²⁸ tollite itaque abeo tallentum et da ei qui habet x. tallenta ²⁹ Omni enim habenti dabitur ei et habundabit ei qui non habet quod habet etiam auferetur abeo ³⁰ Et nequam seruum iecitur foras intenebras exteriore*s* illic erit fletus Et stridor dentium ³¹ Cum hautem uenerit filius hominis inmaiestate sua et omnes angeli cum eo tunc sedebit super sedem maiestatis sua*e* ³² Et congregabuntur ante eum omnes gentes et sperauit eos abinuicem ³³ Sicut pastor segregat eos abedis ³³ et statuet oues quidem adextris suis edos hautem asenistris ³⁴ Tunc dicet rex his qui adextris sunt Uenite benedicti patris mei possedite | regnum quod uobis paratum [f. 16 r. est aborigine mundi ³⁵ Essuriui enim et dedistis mihi manducare Sitiui et dedistis mihi bibere ospes eram et suscipistis me ³⁶ Nudus et co operuistis me infirmus eram et uiissitastis me IN carcerem fui et uenistis adme ³⁷ Tunc respondebunt ei dicentes iusti domine quando te uidimus essurientem et pauimus te autsipientem et pauimus te ³⁸ aut quando hautem teuidimus hospitem et suspicimus te aut nudum et co operuimus te ³⁹ uel quando te uidimus infirmum uel in carcere et uenimus adte ⁴⁰ Et respondiens rex dicet illis Amen dico uobis quandiu fecistis uni ex fratribus meis minimis mihi fecistis ⁴¹ Tunc dicet hiis qui asenistris sunt discedite ame maledicti sunt in ignem eternum quem praeparauit pater meus sabulo et angelis eius ⁴² Essuriui enim et non dedistis mihi manducare sitiui et nondeditis mihi bibere ⁴³ hospis eram et non suscipistis me Nudus fui et non co operuistis me INFIRMUS fui et incarcere et non uenistis adme ⁴⁴ Tunc respondent ei iniusti dicentes domine quando te uidimus essurientem etsipientem aut hospitem aut nudum aut infirmum aut in carcere Et non ministrauimus tibi ⁴⁵ Tunc respondet eis diciens Amen dico uobis quandiu non fecistis uni ex minimis istis nec mihi fecistis ⁴⁶ Et tunc ibunt in iusti inignem eternum iusti hautem*

XXVI. inuitam perpetuam ¹ Et factum est cum consummasset ih̄s omnia uerba haec dixit discipulis suis | ² scitis quia post biduum [f. 16 v. pascha fiat Et filius hominis tradetur principibus sacerdotum et

xxvi. 2. The second letter of "er[ucif]igetur" looks more like "u" than "r."

cr[ucif]igetur ³ Tunc congregati sunt principes sacerdotum et seniores populi in atrium principis sacerdotum qui uocabatur caiphas ⁴ et consilium fecerunt ut ih̄m dolo tenerent ⁵ et dicebant non in diem festum Et tumultus fierit in populo ⁶ Cum hautem esset ih̄s in bethania in domu simonis leprosi ⁷ accessit adeum mulier habiens alabastrum ungenti praetiosi Et effudit super caput eius recumbente ipso ⁸ quod cum uidissent discipuli indignatisunt dicentes ut quid perditio haec ⁹ potuit haec uenundari praetio magna et dari pauperibus ¹⁰ quod ut cognouit ih̄s ait illis quid molesti estis mulieri Bonum opus operata est in me ¹¹ non semper pauperes habebitis uobiscum me hautem nonsemper habebitis ¹² Ecce enim mittiens in corpus meum ungentum adsepiendum mefecit ¹³ Amen dico uobis ubi cumque praedicatum fuerit hoc euangelium intoto mundo narrabitur Et quod fecit haec inmemoriam ipsius ¹⁴ Tunc abiit unus dediscipulis suis qui dicitur iudas scarioth Et principes sacerdotum ¹⁵ Et ait illis quid uultis mihi dare et ego uobis eum trad[am] at illi constituerunt ei xxx. stateris ¹⁶ Et ex inde querebant oportunitatem ut eum traderet eis ¹⁷ prima hautem die azemorum accesserunt discipuli ad ih̄m dicentes ubi uis paremus tibi comedere phascha ¹⁸ At ille dixit eis

* * * * *

ad discipulos suos et ait illis dormite iam et requiescite ecce [f. 18 r.] adpropincauit ora et filius hominis tradetur in manus peccatorum ⁴⁶ surgite eamus ecce adpropincauit qui me tradit ⁴⁷ Ad huc eo loquente ecce iudas unus de xii et cum eo turba multa cum gladis et fustibus misi a principibus sacerdotum et senioribus populi ⁴⁸ qui hautem tradet eum dicit dedit illis signum diciens quem cumque osculatus fuero ipse est tenete eum ⁴⁹ Et confessim accessit ad ih̄m et dixit aue rabbi osculatus est eum ⁵⁰ cui dixit ih̄s amice ad quod uenisti fac Tunc accesserunt et manus inecierunt in ih̄m et tenuerunt eum ⁵¹ et unus ex his qui erant cum ih̄u Extendens manum exemit gladium suum et percussit serum principis sacerdotum et abscidit auriculam eius ⁵² Tunc ait illi ih̄s conuerte gladium tuum in locum suum omnes enim qui accipiunt gladium gladio peribunt ⁵³ aut non putatis possum me modo rogare patrem meum Et exiberet mihi plus quam xii milia legionis angelorum ⁵⁴ quomodo ergo inplebuntur scripture quasi oportet fieri ⁵⁵ in il[la] hora dixit ih̄s ad turbas quasi ad latro[nem] uenistis cum gladis et fustibus conpraechendere me Cotidie apud uos eram in templo dociens et nontenuistis me ⁵⁶ Hoc hautem totum factum est ut inpleretur scripturae profetarum tunc discipuli eius relicto fugerunt [f. 18 v.] ⁵⁷ illi hautem tenentes ih̄m et perduxerunt eum ad caifan princi pes sacerdotum in quo scribe et sacerdotes conuenerant ⁵⁸ Petrus hautem sequebatur eum alonge usque in atrium principis sacerdotum Et ingressus intus sedebat cum ministris uideret exitum rei ⁵⁹ principes hautem

xxvi. 8. We should perhaps read "hoc" for "haec."

xxvi. 18. A misplaced leaf (f. 17) follows this verse in the manuscript. See note on xxiv. 22.

sacerdotum Et uniuersum concilium querebant falsum testimonium aduersus ih̄m ut eum morti traderent⁶⁰ Et non inuenierunt in eum quiquam nouisse hautem uenerunt duo falsi testes⁶¹ Et dixerunt Audiuius hunc dixisse possum distruare templum dei hoc etintridum re dificare illud⁶² Et surgiens princeps sacerdotum ait illi adiuro te per deum uiuum ut dicas nob̄is si tuis xp̄s filius dei uiui Et dixit illi nihil respondis ad ea quae isti aduersus testificantur⁶³ ih̄s hautem tacebat respondiens principes sacerdotum Ait illi adiuro te per deum uiuum ut dicas nob̄is si tu es xp̄s filius dei uiui⁶⁴ Et dixit illi illi ih̄s tu dixisti Uerumtamen dico uob̄is amodo uidebitis filius hominis sedentem adextris uirtutis Et uenientem innubibus caeli⁶⁵ Tunc princeps sacerdotum scidit uestimenta sua diciens [f. 19 r. scidit blasphemauit quid adhuc opus uob̄is Ecce audistis blasphemiam eius⁶⁶ quid uob̄is uidetur At illi responderunt omnes dixerunt reus est mortis⁶⁷ tunc expuerunt in faciam eius et colofis cedentes⁶⁸ profetiza nob̄is xp̄e quis te percussit⁶⁹ Petrus hautem foris in atrio sediabat Et accessit ad eum una ancilla dixit ei et tu cum ih̄u galilio eras⁷⁰ at ille negauit coram omnibus diciens nescio quid dicis neque intellego⁷¹ EXiunte hautem illo ad ianua uidit eum alia ancilla et ait eis qui erant ibi Et hic erat cum ih̄u galilio⁷² Et iterum negauit eum iuramento diciens nonnou hominem⁷³ et post pussillum accipiarunt qui ministrabant et dixerunt petro uere exiliis es tu nam et loquellam tuam manifestate⁷⁴ Tunc coepit deuotare se et iurare quod non nouisset hominem Et continuo gallus cantauit⁷⁵ Et recordatus est petrus uerbi ih̄u quod dixerat prius quam gallus cantet

XVII. ter me negabis Et egressus foras amarissime fleuit¹ Mane hautem facto consilium fecerunt principes sacerdotum et seniores plebis aduersus ih̄m ut eum morti traderent² Et uinctum adduxerunt eum et tradidierunt pontio pylato praessidi³ Uidiens ih̄s iudas qui eum tradidit quia damnatus esset poenetentia ductus retulit truogenta argenteos principibus sacerdotum Et senioribus⁴ diciens peccaui quod tradi derem sanguinem iusti At illi dixerunt quid ad nos tu [f. 19 v. uideris⁵ Et piecteis arcadgabuthē intem plo secessit et abit et laqueo se suspendit⁶ tunc princeps sacerdotum acceptis argenteis dixit non licet mittere eos in corbān hoc est in locum quia praetium sanguinis est⁷ Consilio hautem accepto emerunt exiliis agrum figuli insepulturam perigrinorum⁸ propter quod uocatus est ager ille acheldemāth quod est ager sanguinis usque in odiernum diem⁹ Tunc inpletum est quod dictum erat per heremiam pro featam dicentem et accipert xxx argenteos praetium quod adpraetiatuerunt filius israhel¹⁰ et dederunt eos in agrum figuli sicut constituit mihi dominus¹¹ ih̄s hautem stetit ante praessidem Et interrogauit eum praesses tues rex iudeorum dicit ei ih̄s tu dicis¹² Et cum acesit a principibus sacerdotum et senioribus nihil respondebat¹³ TUNC dicit illi pylatus non audis quanta aduersus te dicunt testimonia¹⁴ Et non respondit ei ullum uerbum ita miraretur praesis uechimenter¹⁵ per diem sollem nem CONsuerat praessis dimitere populum unum uinctum quem uoluisent¹⁶ habebant hautem uinctum

insignem qui dicitur barabbañ ¹⁷ congregatisunt hautem illis dixit
 pylatus quem uultis dimittam uobis barabán aut ihñ qui dicitur
 xp̄s ¹⁸ sciebat hautem quod per in uidiam tradi derunteum [f. 20 r.
¹⁹ sedente hautem illo pro tribunali missit ad eum uxor eius diciens
 nihil sit tibi et iusto illi diciens multa enim pasus sum hodie per
 uisum propter eum ²⁰ Principes hautem sacerdotes et seniores populi
 persuaserunt populo ut peteret barabán ih̄s hautem perdiderunt
²¹ respondiens hautem praesis ait illis quem uultis deduobus dimittam
 uobis At illi dixerunt barabbán ²² Dicit illis pylatus quid ergo
 faciemus ih̄u qui dicitur xp̄s ²³ dicunt omnes crucifigatur Ait illis
 praessis quid enim mali fecit at illi magis clamabant crucifigatur
²⁴ Uidiens hautem pylatus quia quod fecit nihil sed magis tumultus fieri
 accepta aqua lauit manus suas coram populo diciens INnocens ego
 sum assanguine huius iusti uos uideritis ²⁵ et respondiens uniuersa turba
 dixit sanguis eius super nós et super filios uestros ²⁶ Tunc dimisssit illis
 barabbán ih̄s hautem flagillís cesum traditit eis ut crucifigerent illum
²⁷ Tunc militis praesides duxerunt eum in prætorium et congregauerunt
 adeum uniuersum chortem ²⁸ et cum spoliassent eum uestiarunt tonicam
 purpureum et clamidem cociniam cum dederunt ei ²⁹ et coronam despinis
 texerunt Et possuerunt super capud eius inarundinem dexteram et ad
 genu flexu ante eum deludentes eum dicentes aue rex iudeorum ³⁰ Et
 expuerunt infaciameius accipiarunt infaciemeius acciperunt arun-
 dinem et percutiabant capud eius ³¹ et post quam inluserunt eum et
 spoliauerunt eum calamidem ut crucifigeretur induerunt eum [f. 20 v.
 uestimente sua ³² EXeentes hautem inuenerunt hominem cirinium
 uenientem obiam sibi nomine simonem hunc [an]gari auerunt
 uttollerent crucem ³³ et uenit in locum qui dicitur golgota quod est
 caluarie locus ³⁴ Et dederunt ei bibere uinum Et cum felle mixtum et
 cum gustaret noluit bibere ³⁵ Postquam cruciferunt diuisiarunt
 uestimenta sua miserunt sortes ut inpleretur quod dictum est per
 profeatam Diuisiarunt siui uestimenta mea et super uestem meam
 miserunt sortem ³⁶ et sedentes seruauerunt ³⁷ et inposuerunt super
 capudeius causam scriptum est hic est ih̄s xp̄s rex iudeorum ³⁸ tunc
 cruciferunt cumeo duos latrones unum ad dexteram et unum ad sinistram ³⁹ Transseuntes hautem blasphemabant eum mouentes capita sua
⁴⁰ et dixerunt ei uá qui distruas templum dei et intriduo redificabas
 illud libera té ipsum si filius dei es Et discende de cruce ⁴¹ similiter
 et principes sacerdotum deludes eum Et scribis et farisseis dicebant
⁴² alios saluos fecit se ipsum non potest saluum facere si rex israhel est
 discendat nunc de cruce et credimus in eum ⁴³ confidet indeum libenter
 nunc si uult eum Dixit enim quia filius dei sum ⁴⁴ id ipsum hautem et
 latrones qui cruciferunt cum eo inproperabant ei ⁴⁵ et post quam
 crucifixus est A Sexta hautem hora tenebrae factae sunt super
 uniuersam terram in horam nonam ⁴⁶ circa uero horam nonam clamauit
 ih̄s uoce magna helii hælii labath sabathani Hoc est deus meus deus
 meus quid me dereliquisti ⁴⁷ quidam hautem illic stantes et [f. 21 r.

xxvii. 45. "super" ends a line: "uniuersam" is preceded by a space.

audientes diciabant heliam uocat iste ⁴⁸ Et continuo surgiens unus ex eis acceptam spongiam inpleuit aceto Et in possuit arundini et dabat ei bibere ⁴⁹ ceteri uero dixerunt sine uidiamus siueniat helias et liberauit eum Alius hautem accepta lancia pupungit latus eius et exiit aqua et sanguis ⁵⁰ ih̄s hautem iterum exclamans uoce magna emisit spiritum ⁵¹ et ecce uelum templi scisum est in duas partes assummo usque deorsum Et terra mota est et petrae scisunt ⁵² et monumenta apertae sunt Et multa corpora sanctorum dormientium surrexiarunt ⁵³ et exiuentes demonumentis post resurrectionem ipsius etuenerunt in sanctam ciuitatem et multis apparuit ⁵⁴ CEntorio hautem et qui cum eo erant custodientes ih̄m cum uidissent terre motum et ea que fiabant timuarunt ualde dicentes uere filius di erat iste ⁵⁵ Erant hautem ibi mulieres multae alonge uidentes quae secutae fuerant ih̄m agalilia ministrantes illi ⁵⁶ inter quas erat maria magdalena Et maria iacobi et ioseph mater et mater filiorum sebedei ⁵⁷ Cum hautem sero factum esset uenit quidam homo diues abarimathia nomine ioseph qui et ipse discipulus erat ih̄u ⁵⁸ hic accessit ad pylatum et petit corpus ih̄u tunc pylatus iusit dari cor

- * * * * *
- xxvii. 54. For "timuarunt" possibly "timiarunt" should be read.
 xxvii. 58. The verso of the leaf which ends here is blank.

APPENDIX B.

THE SCRIBES OF THE Book OF MULLING.

IN the foregoing pages I have endeavoured to avoid speaking dogmatically as to the number of scribes who were at work upon our book. The question whether the entire manuscript was penned by a single hand is one which must be left for its final decision to expert palæographers. I think it well, however, to state here the convictions on this subject which have been produced by a fresh examination of the book, made when this work was already in type.

I believe that I can distinguish the work of four different scribes in its pages. The Synoptic Gospels appear to have been written throughout, with the exception of a few pages to be mentioned presently, by a scribe whom we may designate by the letter A. He was assisted or followed by three others:

B, who wrote the first fasciculus, containing Jerome's Prefaces, etc. This scribe seems to have written with the side of his pen, the horizontal strokes being heavier than the vertical. This peculiarity distinguishes him at the first glance from A. He further differs from the latter in the form of certain letters. The letter *a*, for example, is usually open at the top; the horizontal stroke of *g* is written to the right of the vertical stroke, and sometimes resolves itself into a mere curved continuation of the latter; *z* also varies from the norm. Some of the abbreviations are peculiar, such as *p^t*, instead of *p^o*, for *post*, *igⁱ* instead of *g'*, for *igitur* *—* instead of *÷*, for *est*, *at* instead of *h*, for *autem*.

C, the writer of the Office for the Visitation of the Sick: see above p. 9. Like B, this writes *p^t* for *post*.

D, the scribe of St John's Gospel. His most prominent characteristic is his frequent use of the double point (..) as a punctuation mark, and his habit of dividing the text into short paragraphs. His large initials are not usually projected into the margin. He seldom uses the symbol known as "ceann fa eite" (ſſ), so frequently found in the Synoptic Gospels. His *a* and *g* resemble those of B, but he uses also an open *q* and is fond of *V* and *v* for *U* and *u*, and (now and then) of *n* for *n*. He writes *g^o*, instead of *ḡ*, for *ergo*.

It has next to be remarked that, supposing the distinction between these scribes to have been made out, it can, if I mistake not, be proved that A B D were contemporaneous. A has, in fact, sometimes handed his pen to one of the others. Thus f. 62 (Luke, vii. 4–viii. 2) has been shown to differ in its script from the pages which precede and follow it. But the peculiarities which distinguish it are in almost all cases found in the first fasciculus: it has the same forms for *a g z*, while the symbol for *est* differs only by the addition of a mark like a comma below the horizontal line.¹ We may conclude,

¹ This difference is quite consistent with identity of hand. We find a similar

with some probability, that for this leaf B relieved A. When we turn to the first column of the verso of f. 72 (Luke xiv. 28–xv. 7) we find a not less striking difference from the preceding and following writing, and here we recognise at once the hand of D. There is the same fondness for short paragraphs and the double point which we have noticed in St John, the same forms of *a*, *q* and *n* are found, and the same abbreviation is used for *ergo*.

It is clear that if the conclusion to which we seem now to have been led is correct, some statements made in an earlier part of this volume must be modified. We can no longer (see pp. 8 *sq.*, 72 *sq.*) speak of the entire manuscript as coming from the pen of a single scribe. It was the work of a group of scribes who wrote side by side in the same scriptorium. The corrector, again, is not to be identified with the scribe of the book, but with one of the three A B D, or perhaps with another of the same set of workers. It is worth noting here that the marginal numeration agrees with the writer of the Eusebian Canons, against the text, in representing the number five by *v* rather than by *u*. May we infer that both numbers and corrections were added by B? See above p. 70.

But, again, if we have succeeded in showing that our Book was penned by a group of contemporary scribes, working together, we find at once a strong corroboration of the hypothesis that the colophon is not original (above p. 17). For it is clearly written by D, the scribe, as we have seen, of but one of the five fasciculi. And yet it undoubtedly asserts that the entire manuscript was written by one scribe, and it no less certainly implies that that scribe was the author of the colophon itself. This, if we have argued aright, is untrue in the case of the book now in our hands, though there is no reason why it should not have been true of its archetype.

But on the other hand it is right to state that the unanimity of palaeographers as to the date of our manuscript has been somewhat over-stated at p. 15. So competent an authority as Mr W. M. Lindsay wrote on Oct. 24 1896: "What precise amount of authority the tradition has which connects it [the Book of Mulling] with the end of the seventh century I do not know. But so far as I can see, there is no palaeographical counter-evidence. . . . The nearest approach to the Book of Mulling is the Naples Charisius." And again, on Feb. 11, 1897: "I saw the Naples Charisius at Rome. . . I saw enough to convince me that the writing is Irish pointed minuscule of a style very closely resembling that of the Book of Mulling." And he then proceeds to mention certain authorities who assign the Naples manuscript to the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century.

variation in the symbol for *est* in the Rosslyn Missal, an Irish MS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, in passages undoubtedly written by the same scribe. The word *dixit* does not occur in the first fasciculus, nor do *post*, *igitur*, in f. 62. It is therefore impossible to argue from the peculiar abbreviations used for these words.

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Chapters on the Book of Mulling, by H. J. Lawlor ...
Edinburgh, D. Douglas, 1897.

4 p. l., 208 p. front. (facsim.) plan, diagr. 23^{cm}.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Bible. N.T. Gospels. Latin. Book of Mulling.
2. Dublin. University. Trinity college. Library. MSS. (A. 4. 20) 3.
Bible. N. T. Gospels. Latin—Versions—Vulgate. I. Title.

Library of Congress



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